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# PREFACE

I am reprinting in these volumes a number of studies and texts which have appeared during the last fifty years in various journals here and abroad. I have limited myself chiefly to texts which I had published for the first time, together with their translations, introductions and annotations, for whatever the value of essays and studies may be, that of texts remains the same. They are not affected by differences concerning origin, date and interpretation. On the contrary, they retain a permanent value, and form the basis for further investigation. Nor am I aware that any one of these texts has since been published elsewhere.

These studies and texts cover a somewhat wide field. They touch upon many subjects. A large number belong to the literature of the Apocrypha, others deal with the liturgy and Midrash; some belong to ancient fiction and mediaeval romance, and not a few are studies in folklore in the widest sense. A special section has been set aside for Samaritan texts, and notably Samaritan amulets. Biblical archaeology is the subject of some of the larger articles, and a few Rumanian texts with their translations have also been included. I have omitted however nearly all those Rumanian texts published by me without any translation. I have also been forced to omit others which have become inaccessible even to me. These articles written in many languages have all been reproduced in facsimile, reappearing here in the same form as they first appeared in the various journals. In spite of the incongruous appearance, the student, I think, will be grateful that I have retained them in their original form and with their pagination, references to them having been made by scholars; it will therefore be easy to trace them here. To the older pagination of each separate article,

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1929

PART III.—JULY

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## Faraḥ-nāma of Shaikhī

BY NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH

TURNING over the sheets of some of my old books I found a very complicated question in the field of Ottoman poetry which I wish to discuss below.

The late Russian orientalist, V. D. Smirnov,[1] in the second edition of his Turkish Chrestomathy,[2] published a number of extracts from a Turkish (Ottoman) poem mathnawi entitled فرح نامه. In the preface he makes the following explanatory note concerning this poem [3] (the square brackets are mine): "the extracts (pp. 433–437) are from فرح نامه, Budapest manuscript No. 24, dated 928/1522. And in the title of the codex we read هذا كتاب فرح نامهٔ ابن خطيب and in the text the author, many times mentioning himself, names himself حطيب اوغلى (f. 13v., 120r., 210r.), ابن خطيب (f. 107v.); thus it is certain that this work, written in 829/1425 is by Moḥammad ban Ṣāliḥ Bījān (+ 1449), the author of the famous Turkish religious poem محمديه. But neither in the European catalogues, nor in [the book of] Ḥājjī Khalīfa is there mentioned such a work with the name of Yāzījī

[1] S. his obituary note by N. K. Dmitrijev, *JRAS.*, April, 1928, pp. 408–10.
[2] Majmū'a-i Muntakhabāt-i Athār-i 'Othmāniyya. St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 433–7.
[3] Op. cit., pp. xxii–xxiii.



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Oghlī. The last [Ḥājjī Khalīfa] remarks quite vaguely that فرح نامه is a Turkish work in verses, belonging to Shaikh Zāda, who wrote it in the reign of the Sultan Yildirim (Ḥ.Kh., iv, 412, No. 9007). The poem of Ibn Khaṭīb is extremely interesting because of its archaic language and orthography, as well as because the religious-didactic thoughts of the author, which are contained in it, in the spirit and style of the Mawlawi works, like, for instance, غريب نامه of 'Āshiq, but, perhaps, with a little greater fanatical Moslem passion and enmity towards non-Moslems, especially Christians (for example, f. 128r., 209a–210)." In this statement of Professor Smirnov we have, unfortunately, five evident mistakes.

The editor says that the author calls himself either Ibn Khaṭīb (Arabic) or Khaṭīb Oghlī (Turkish). These names are absolutely different from those of the author of the Turkish religious poem Muḥammadiyya, whose names (or nicknames) were Ibn Kātib (Arabic) or Yāzījī Oghlī (Turkish). It is well known (and it is even unnecessary to quote dictionaries) that khaṭīb means "preacher, reader of prayers, priest, clergyman", and kātib—"scribe, writer, copyist, clerk, secretary, civil officer." The seeming homophony of two words *khaṭīb* and *kātib* was the cause of this mistake.

Further the editor says that this work (the original text and not the copy) was written in 829/1425. But from the text published in the Chrestomathy [1] we know that it was finished in the month Rabī' al-Akhir A.H. 829, i.e. February-March, 1426.

It seemed to the editor that the work, fragments of which he published, was by the author of the Muḥammadiyya—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ Bījān. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yāzījī Oghlī really was the author of Muḥammadiyya, but the nickname of Bījān (the Lifeless) was that of his brother Aḥmad. In the epilogue of his poem the poet says: "I had

[1] Op. cit., p. 436.

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a brother, named the Lifeless, who used to encourage me . . . " etc.[1]

Moreover, the death of the above-mentioned Muḥammad took place not, as the editor thinks, in 1449, but in either 1451 or 1453.[2]

As to the Moslem fanaticism of the Mawlawis, and especially that of 'Āshiq Pāshā, the author of Gharīb-nāma, it is easy to perceive that the dervishes Mawlawis, being non-orthodox Moslems and mystic pantheists, were well known for their tolerance ; these ideas of tolerance we can find exactly in the Gharīb-nāma and even in a story published by V. D. Smirnov himself.[3]

Thus it is very evident that Yāzījī Oghlī is not the author of the poem under discussion, and we have before us an open problem : whose is it ?

There is a well-known Ottoman poem with the same title Faraḥ-nāma which was written by a certain Shaikh Oghlī (Turkish) or Shaikh Zāda (Persian). A wonderful coincidence ! Shaikh Oghlī is equivalent, by meaning, to the Arabic Ibn Khaṭīb, because shaikh means not only " old man, chief, superior of dervishes ", but also, like *khaṭīb*, " preacher, priest, prior, abbot." But, to our regret, his Faraḥ-nāma is not our poem for many reasons. Its contents are absolutely different. It was completed at the end of the month Rabī' al-Akhir (like our Faraḥ-nāma) but of A.H. 789, i.e. A.D. May, 1387—thirty-nine years earlier. And, finally, its real title is Khurshīd-nāma.

An interesting dispute arose about its name. Hammer mentioned it under the name of Khurshīd-nāma on the basis of a manuscript which is preserved in the Berlin Library.[4] Pertsch quoted it under the same name in his description

[1] E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, London, 1900, p. 402.

[2] Gibb, op. cit., p. 392.

[3] Chrestomathy, pp. 418–21.

[4] J. von Hammer-Purgstall. *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst.* B.I. Pest 1836, SS. 109–112. In the article " Dschemalisade," No. xix.

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of this Berlin manuscript, and says also that its author is Shaikh Oghlī or Jamālī Zāda, that the Berlin copy was finished in 807, i.e. 1404 (even the copy is earlier than our poem), and that other copies of this work, which are in Munich (173), Paris (314, 315, 355), and Upsala (190), have the same title.[1]

Among the Turkish historians 'Āshiq Chalabī (+ 1572) in his *Tadhkira* calls this work Farrukh-nāma, but Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (+ 1599) in his Kunh al-Akhbār and Ḥājjī Khalīfa (+ 1657) in the Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn (see above the quotation of Smirnov) name it Faraḥ-nāma. Gibb in his *History*, speaking twice about this poem,[2] agrees with the opinion of 'Āshiq for the following reason. Faraḥ-nāma would mean "The Book of Gladness", and Farrukh-nāma "The Book of Farrukh"; but the hero of this poem is Farrukh, and the heroine is Khurshīd, whence another title of the poem is Khurshīd-nāma.

It is quite logical, but, unfortunately for the late famous English Turcologist, Professor J. Deny, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* showed clearly that the second title of Khurshīd-nāma is Faraḥ-nāma. By citing some passages he showed that the reading "farrukh" is impossible metrically (the metre of this poem is hazaj).[3] Consequently this poem was entitled either Khurshīd-nāma "The Book of Khurshīd", the heroine, or Faraḥ-nāma "The Book of Gladness" of Farrukh, the hero, because of his marriage, at the end of the poem, with his beloved Khurshīd.

Moreover, in the same article, J. Deny stated, this time together with Gibb,[4] and contrary to the generally adopted opinion, that Jamālī Shaikh Zāda, the writer of the epilogue of "Khusraw wa Shīrīn", the unfinished poem of Shaikhī, and Shaikh Oghlī (his other name also Jamālī), the author

[1] W. Pertsch. *Verzeichniss der Turkischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1889, S. 364, No. 365.
[2] Gibb, op. cit., pp. 256, 427–31.
[3] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article "Sheikhzāde".
[4] Gibb, op. cit., p. 428.

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of Khurshīd-nāma and the nephew of the said Shaikhī, are two different individuals and must therefore be distinguished : "Sheikhī who wrote under Murad II was still alive in 1421, and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer a nephew born in 1340." The conclusion of Deny is perfectly right from the chronological point of view. A few words about this "continuer". J. Deny did not remark that the name of this continuer Bāyazīd b. Muṣṭafā, mentioned in the Paris manuscript,[1] coincides with Bāyazīd b. Muṣṭafā, the continuer, in the manuscript, which belongs to the collection of Gibb [2]; besides we have not these names amongst those of Jamālī Shaikh Zāda, the author of Khurshīd-nāma.

Now let us return to Smirnov's Faraḥ-nāma and its author Ibn Khaṭīb or Khaṭīb Oghlī. Any person with this name is absolutely unknown among the Ottoman poets. But we have already said that this name is equivalent to that of Shaikh Oghlī or Shaikh Zāda. There are many Turkish authors called Shaikh Zāda, but they cannot be identified with our poet because of the age when they lived. Apparently one exception is an author [3] who wrote in the time of Murad II and a little later (*circa* 1446) than the date of our Faraḥ-nāma (1426). But he cannot have composed this poem, for we know nothing about his poetical capacity. Some scholars (Belletête) think that he was the author of the Arabic original text of the famous prose work *The Stories of the Forty Vezirs*, some others (Gibb, Fleischer, Behrnauer) take him for the Turkish translator of this work.

Nevertheless, it seems to me, that we can identify Smirnov's Khaṭīb Oghlī. Between 1420–30 the great Ottoman poet Shaikhī began his celebrated poem "Khusraw wa Shīrīn". We do not know the date of his death, but it cannot be later than 1451, the year of the death of Murad II, for this Sultan is mentioned as reigning in the epilogue of the poem, which was written by the continuer, because the poem remained

[1] See the article "Sheikhi" of J. Deny in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
[2] Gibb, op. cit., p. 304.
[3] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Sheikh-zāde the 2d.

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unfinished, when Shaikhī died,[1] as we have said above. Thus the time of our Faraḥ-nāma agrees with that of Shaikhī.

Moreover, his name also coincides quite well with Khaṭīb Oghlī. The Arabic ending *ī*, *nisba*, is not rarely used in the meaning as "son, descendant" (like Arabic *ibn*, Persian *zāda*, and Turkish *oghlī*). From several examples it will be enough to indicate the following: the Oriental historians add to Asad, son of Sāmān (the Samanid dynasty), the name Sāmānī; the world known Persian poet 'Omar, son of Khayyām, is called in Arabic Khayyāmī [2]; and, especially, a Turkish historian of the beginning of the eighteenth century Muḥammad, son of Shaikh Ḥasan, was known under the nickname Shaikhī.[3]

We have many other reasons to identify Shaikhī with the author of Faraḥ-nāma. He was a learned man; doctor; famous poet, author, besides "Khusraw wa Shīrīn", of "Khar-nāma" and a diwan of small poems; one of the earliest introducers of mathawi poems into the Ottoman literature; a great Turkish mystic of the school of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī and pupil of Ḥājjī Bairām. At the same time he was reproached by the later Turkish critics for the "vulgar" (i.e. simple, naïf) language of his works.[4] And from the fragments published by Smirnov, and from his words in the preface to his Chrestomathy, we see that Faraḥ-nāma is one of the earliest Turkish mathnawis; full of mystical elements; composed in the type of the 'Āshiq's Gharīb-nāma, the poem written under the evident influence of Jalāl ad-Dīn; and the language of Faraḥ-nāma must be named "vulgar" from the point of view of the Turkish lovers of the pretentious, artificial, high style.

Consequently, we have many reasons to suppose that Faraḥ-nāma is really the poem of Shaikhī.

[1] Gibb, op. cit., pp. 299–314. Deny, the article "Sheikhī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

[2] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'di*. New York, 1906, p. 246.

[3] F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*. Leipzig, 1927, S. 267.

[4] Gibb and Deny, loc. cit.

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पुस्तकालय 110448

# Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarka-śāstras)

By PROFESSOR GUISEPPE TUCCI

## I

WE must admit that very little is known about the first development of Indian logic and particularly about Buddhist logic before Diṅnāga. If we take the best manuals of Indian logic now available, such as those by Suali, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Keith, or the most comprehensive Histories of Indian philosophy like those of Dāsgupta and Rādhākrishna we shall easily recognize that the data contained therein are far from being satisfactory; more than that, they are also very often wrong. In fact, almost the only source from which their statements are derived is the book by Sugiura,[1] who certainly had the merit of giving the first account of Indian logic as preserved in Chinese sources, but, being himself absolutely without knowledge of orthodox *nyāya* and of Sanscrit, is in his statements and in his translations very often misleading.[2]

On the other hand, it is evident that a better knowledge of the logical schools before Diṅnāga might settle many a vexed question, including those of the originality of Diṅnāga himself, his indebtedness to previous masters, and the relation between his theory of the syllogism and that expounded in the *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya*.

Unfortunately the largest part of the texts on logic anterior to Diṅnāga seems to be lost.

We have, it is true, two fragments preserved in Chinese; one is the so-called *Upāya* (?)-*hṛdaya*—not *Upāya-kauśalya-*

[1] *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia, 1900.

[2] On the other hand, a great deal of information can be gathered from Ui's book on the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy. Cf. also his *Studies on Indian Philosophy*, 印度哲學研究, Tokyō. The classical book of Stcherbatsky, *Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten*, deals chiefly with Dharmakīrti's thought.

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*hṛdaya* as suggested by Nanjiō and accepted by Bagchi; the other is a fragmentary treatise in three chapters, attributed by some catalogues of the canon to Vasubandhu. By Nanjiō, Ui and Bagchi it is called *Tarka-śāstra*. The first was translated by Ki Kya Ye[3]; the second by Paramārtha. Although the statement of Takakusu that all the works translated by Paramārtha are anterior to A.D. 500 is too dogmatical, we are at any rate confronted here with a fairly ancient book.[2]

So far as the first text is concerned, there are no grounds either for affirming or for denying its attribution to Nāgārjuna; but there is no doubt that it represents fairly ancient theories which are very nearly akin to those contained in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*.[3]

These two treatises have been retranslated into Sanscrit by me and will shortly be published in the Baroda Sanscrit Series. As they are certainly the most ancient fragments of the *Vivāda-śāstras* that we possess, their bearing upon the problem of the relations between pure heuristic and later *Nyāya* doctrines is very great. But we should like to have other texts of indubitable authorship, in order to fix a *terminus a quo* and to ascertain which school must be credited with an original contribution to logical theories.

Fortunately, such texts have been preserved. We may divide them into three categories, (*a*) Chinese sources; (*b*) Tibetan sources; (*c*) Sanscrit sources.

The first category includes the translations of the following books:—(1) *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra*, 瑜伽師地論, by Asaṅga. Of this monumental work we have also the Tibetan translation (*Bstan ḥgyur*, mdo *dsi*, foll. 1–332—Cordier,

[1] On Ki Kia Ye (fifth century A.D.) see Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes*, iii, n. 1, Démiéville, *BEFEO*. xxiv, 1924, pp. 65–6, n. 4. We know from the *K'ai yüan shih kiao lu*, 開元釋教錄, that before Ki Kia Ye another translation of this work had been made by Buddhabhadra of the Eastern Tsin. Cf. Bagchi, *Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, p. 346.

[2] *BEFEO*. 1904, p. 3.

[3] See Ui's *Studies in Indian Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 428.

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*Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, vol. iii, p. 378). (2) *Prakaraṇārya-vācā-śāstra*, 顯 暢 聖 教 論. The chapter concerning our subject corresponds almost *verbatim* with the preceding. (3) *Mahāyānābhidharma-saṅgīti-śāstra*, 大 乘 阿 毘 達 磨 集 論. The theories expounded in this work differ very often from those contained in the two preceding texts. Its doctrines are explained in the commentary written upon it by Sthiramati[1] and called (4) *Mahāyānābhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra*, 大 乘 阿 毘 達 磨 雜 集 論. Then we can collect a great deal of information from the commentaries written by K'uei Chi, the disciple of Yuan Chwang. I have used the Commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, which has been partly translated by me in a previous study[2] which may complete in some way the statements contained in the present paper. I am aware of the fact that K'uei Chi wrote also a commentary upon the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra*, called 瑜 伽 師 地 論 略 纂, and another on the *Abhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti*[3]; but I could not here in India get copies of these two texts. On the other hand, I have used the commentary of Shên T'ai, another disciple of Yuan Chwang, on the *Nyāya-mukha*.[4] The second category is represented by the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, by Diṅnāga.[5] It contains, as we shall see, much precious information about the logical activity of the schools that preceded him.

[1] On Sthiramati see Péri in *BEFEO*. 1911, 348 and 378.

[2] Notes on the *Nyāya-praveśa* in *Bollettino della Scuola di Studî Orientali*, 1928.

[3] This is called 大 乘 阿 毗 達 摩 雜 集 論 述 記, usually quoted under the abridged form 對 法 論 疏.

[4] The *Nyāya-mukha* (not *Nyāya-tarka-dvāra-śāstra*; see *JRAS*. 1928, p. 7) has been translated into English by me and compared with the corresponding portions of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. It will shortly be published in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus* of Professor Walleser.

[5] The *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* is preserved in Tibetan, together with two translations of the *vṛtti* of Diṅnāga himself (*Bstan ɑgyur, mdo, ce*, Cordier, p. 434). I have used the copy of the University of Calcutta, which has been kindly put at my disposal by the authorities. This copy belongs to the Narthang edition.

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In the third category we may include those quotations and allusions which can be found in Uddyotakara's *Nyāya-vārttika* and Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*.

It is evident that the second and the third category can supply us only with fragments, while in the first we are confronted with complete texts or commentaries, which, through the intermediacy of Yuan Chwang, are likely to go back to a tradition of exegesis current in the Indian monasteries at the time of the travels of the great pilgrim. In any case, by combining all these references, we can attain a better knowledge of Indian logic before Diṅnāga than we have had up to the present. We shall begin by studying the Chinese translations which belong to the so-called Yogācāra school started by Asaṅga and developed by Vasubandhu. The teaching of this school, in its dogmatical structure, seems to be more related to the Sautrāntika doctrines than to the ontological theories expounded in the *Laṅkāvatāra* or in the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda*.

The contents of the chapters that are of interest to us were made known by Sugiura, and after him by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who based himself upon the resumé given by the Japanese scholar. But even this summary is far from correct or complete. Moreover, there is in the books referred to many a detail which has been passed unnoticed by the Japanese and Indian scholars. Even the attribution of the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* to Maitreya is wrong, although it is generally accepted and repeated by Indologists. This fact is rather important because, accepting the attribution of the text to Maitreya, we should be compelled to admit *ipso facto* an earlier date for it; but there is no doubt that it is by Asaṅga and represents perhaps one of the last and most complete products of the wonderful activity of the great master.

In the exposition that follows we shall indicate by A the group *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* and *Prakaraṇārya-vācā* and by B the group *Saṅgīti* and *Saṃyukta-saṅgīti*.

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## II

The first classification that we meet is that concerning "speech", *vākya*, 論, *smra.ba*. There are seven heads, viz.:—

I. *vākya* in itself, 論 體 性, *smra.ba*.

II. The place where speech is made, the *pariṣaṭ*, 論 處 所, *smra.ba.žal.c'e*.

III. The basis or the support of speech, 論 所 依, *smra.bai.gži*, *vākya-mūla* or *vākyāśraya*.

IV. Adornment of speech, 論 莊 嚴, *smra.bai.rgyan*, *vākyālaṅkāra*.

V. The defeat of a speech, i.e. in argument, 論 墮 負, *smra.bai.c'ad.pas.gcod.pa.*, *vākya-nigraha*.

VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech, 論 出 離, *smra.ba.las byuṅ.ba.*, **vāda-saṃbhava*.

VII. Those characteristics which are the causes of a speech being appreciated (by the hearers), 論 多 所 作 法, *smra.ba.gces.spres.la.dgos.pai.c'os.rnams*.

We shall later discuss the third point, which has the main interest for us, and give here a mere summary of the various subdivisions of the other six items, as they have not the same bearing on the history of logical theories in India.

I. *vākya*. This can be of six kinds—

(*a*) *Vākya* in itself.

(*b*) Excellent words, that is words with which the world is pleased.

(*c*) Disputation-words, which are uttered when two men engaged in a discussion maintain quite different opinions about a particular object or a particular thesis. It is worthy of notice that, while B simply states that it consists in holding opposed views, A insists at length upon the various causes of the dispute. It asserts that these are to be found in the *abhiniveśa*, "attachment," of the creatures belonging to the *kāma-dhātu* or in the criticism that human beings are inclined to express about the sinful deeds of body, mind and speech of others, or in the discussion of the various *dṛṣṭis*, e.g.

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those of eternity or of *uccheda*, at a time when the disputants are not yet free from passion.

(*d*) Rebuke-words (*apavāda-vākya*), 毀 謗 論 or (B) 毀 論, *ts'ig.ñan.pa.smra.ba.* It includes unpleasant words or the teaching of false theories.

(*e*) Accordant speech, 順 正 論, *mt'un.par.smra.ba.*: any speech which is in accordance with the dharma and aiming at producing a right knowledge in the mind of the hearers.

(*f*) Teaching, 教 導 論, *gdams.par.smra.ba.*

The first two items can be either good or bad, and therefore it is necessary to distinguish them according to circumstances; the next two are always bad and therefore must be avoided. The last two are always good and therefore must be practised.

II. Place where a speech is made—

(*a*) before a king;

(*b*) before a governor;

(*c*) in a great assembly;

(*d*) before *śramaṇas* who are well versed in the dharma;

(*e*) before Brahmans;

(*f*) before those who like to hear the dharma.

IV. Adornment of speech. Its fundamental aspects are five according to A, but six according to B.

| A. I and II | B. *Saṅgiti* and Sthiramati |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Perfect knowledge of one's own as well as of another's system, 善 自 他 宗 *bdag.daṅ.p'a.rol.gyi.lugs.šes.pa* (*sva-para-siddhānta-jñāna*). | Id. |
| (*b*) Perfection of the phrase, 語 句 圓 滿 *ts'ig.sbyor.ba.p'un.sum.ts'ogs.pa.* A phrase is perfect when it is possessed of five good characteristics. That is to say, it must be :— | Id. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| (1) devoid of any rustic expression.<br>(2) easy.<br>(3) evident.<br>(4) coherent.<br>(5) having a good meaning. | No mention of these five subdivisions. The perfection of the phrase consists in avoiding mistakes through knowledge of the *śabda-śāstra* and the *vyutpatti-śāstra*. |
| (*c*) 無畏, *mi . ajigs . pa .*, *abhīrutva*, fearlessness. Even if one finds himself among a *pariṣat* numerous or hostile, he must be sure of himself. | Id. |
| (*d*) 敦肅, *brtan . pa*, *dhīratā*, firmness. | Id. |
| (*e*) Speech possessed of those characteristics that will be esteemed and attractive, 應供, *ṅo . mi . bzlog . pa*. | Id.<br><br>Adds: 辯才 = *pratibhāna*, when sentences flow uninterruptedly. |

At this point A gives a list of twenty-seven *praśaṃsā-guṇas*, which are the ornaments, as it were, of an excellent speech :—

(1) high estimation by hearers ;

(2) belief and acceptance by hearers ;

(3) absence of fear ;

(4) knowledge of the mistakes in the thesis of the adversaries ;

(5) knowledge of the superiority of one's own thesis ;

(6) absence of *abhiniveśa* ;

(7) not to be partial towards one's own system ;

(8) not to renounce one's own law and rules ;

(9) to understand quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;

(10) to grasp quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;

(11) to explain quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;

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(12) the power of captivating the assembly with gifts of speech ;

(13) to be able to rejoice those who like *hetu-vidyā* ;

(14) the power of expressing in the best way the meaning of the arguments ;

(15) no trace of depression in the body, while discussing ;

(16) no depression in mind while discussing ;

(17) no stammering ;

(18) to maintain always presence of mind (*pratibhā*) ;

(19) no bodily fatigue to be shown ;

(20) memory always functioning ;

(21) mind uninjured ;

(22) no pain or impediment in the throat ;

(23) expressiveness of the voice ;

(24) restraint of one's own mind in order to prevent anger ;

(25) to comply with the other's mind in order to avoid his wrath ;

(26) to act in such a way that the adversary may be persuaded in his own mind ;

(27) to be considered everywhere as a great *ācārya*.

V. *Nigraha-sthānas*. These can be of three fundamental kinds :—

(*a*) *vacana-sannyāsa*, 捨言, *brjod.pa.gtoṅ.pa* ;

(*b*) when the speaker perceives that his words have been refuted with success by the opponent and therefore tries to avoid further discussion, 言屈, *brjod.pa.dma'.dbab.pa.*, *vacanābhibhava* ;

(*c*) erroneous speech, *vacana-doṣa*, 言過, *brjod.pai.ñes.pa*.

*Vacana-sannyāsa* consists in confessing one's own defeat and in acknowledging that the thesis of the adversary is right. According to group I it can be of thirteen kinds ; e.g. my thesis is wrong, your thesis is right, etc.

*Vacanābhibhava* occurs when a speaker, realizing that his arguments are wrong, tries to avoid the discussion, saying that he has something else to do, or brings into the discussion

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new arguments not connected with previous ones, or looks irritated, angry, conceited, or reveals some defect or fault in the adversary which the latter does not like to have disclosed, or looks offended or shows impatience or distrust, or has nothing to reply and therefore keeps silence, or looks abashed and trembling or bends his head or appears as if he were deprived of the faculty of thinking and speaking.

*Vacana-doṣa* can be of nine kinds—

(*a*) to speak at random ;

(*b*) violent expressions, suggested by anger, etc. ;

(*c*) obscurity of expression, when the speaker cannot be understood either by the assembly or by the adversary ;

(*d*) lack of proportion, when the expression is either defective or excessive (*ādhikya-nyūnatva*) ;

(*e*) meaningless, 非義相應, *don.daṅ.ldan.pa.ma.yin.pa*, *vyartha*. It is of ten kinds :—

(1) *anarthaka*, 無義, *dgos.pa.med* ;

(2) *apārthaka*, 違義, *don.pa.med.pa* ;

(3) *yukti-hāni*, 損理, *rigs.pa.las.ñams.pa* ;

(4) *sādhya-sama*, 與所成等, *bsgrub.par.bya.ba.daṅ.ḍra.ba* ;

(5) *jāti*, 招集過難, *ltag.gc'od.pa* ;

(6) *arthānupalabdhi*, 不得義利, *don.mi.dmigs.pa* ;

(7) *asambaddha*, 義無次序, *don.daṅ.mi.ḍbrel.ba.* ;

(8) *aniścita*, 義不決定, *ma.ṅes.pa* ;

(9) *siddha-sādhya*, when the proof is itself to be proved, 成立已成, *sgrub.pa.yaṅ.sgrub.par.bya.ba.yin.pa* ;

(10) a speech according to illogical or wrong doctrines, *ts'ul . bžin . ma . yin . zin . ts'ags . pai . sñad . du . mi . ḫos . pai . smra . ba . t'ams . cad . kyi . rjes . su . ḍbraṅ . ba'o*, 順不稱理諸邪惡.

Sthiramati knows only the first five of these *nigraha-sthānas*, and he considers the other five as mere explanations of them (1 < 6, 2 < 7, 3 < 8, 4 < 9, 5 < 10) ;

(*f*) *aprāpta-kāla*, when the various arguments are not brought forward in order ;

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(*g*) *aniścita* (or *aniyata*), when someone either attacks an argument that he has already established as his thesis or establishes as a thesis an argument that he has already attacked or suddenly changes his ideas;

(*h*) obscurity;

(*i*) lack of cohesion.

VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech.

This is threefold, consisting of (*a*) *guṇa-doṣa-parīkṣā*, 觀察德失, *yon . tan . daṅ . ñes . pa . brtag*; (*b*) *pariṣat-parīkṣā*, 衆會, *ḳ'or . brtag . pa*; (*c*) *pāṇḍityāpāṇḍitya-parīkṣā*, 善不善, *mk'as . mi . mk'as . brtag . pa*.

The first consists in examining whether the discussion undertaken will be of some use or not to the speaker and to the hearers. If one knows that no good result is to be expected from the discussion, he must avoid it.

The second consists in ascertaining whether the *pariṣaṭ* is impartial, learned, strictly honest. If this be not the case, the discussion must be avoided.

The third consists in examining whether one has the knowledge and the ability necessary to carry on the discussion satisfactorily. If an aspirant acknowledges that he is not possessed of the requisite and indispensable qualities, he must renounce the disputation.

VII. The characteristics which cause a speech to be appreciated by the hearers are (*a*) knowledge of one's own and opposing systems, (*b*) absence of fear, (*c*) promptitude of intelligence: (*a*) *sva-para-mata-jñāna*, 善自他宗, *bdag. daṅ.p'a.rol.gyi.gžuṅ.lugs.śes.pa*; (*b*) *abhīrutā*, 無畏, *mi. ạjigs*; (*c*) *pratibhāna*, 辯才, *spobs.pa*.

Now we shall study the section dedicated to the third item, that is, to the basis or support of a speech. In a discussion we can distinguish two elements, which are respectively called (*a*) the *probandum*, *sādhya*, 所成義, *bsgrub.par.bya. bai.don*, and (*b*) the proof, *sādhana*, 能成, *sgrub.pa*. The *probandum* is twofold, that is to say, we may prove either a subject (lit. an entity, *svabhāva*, 自性, *ṅo.bo.ñid*) or an

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attribute (lit. a quality, *viśeṣa*, 差別, *bye.brag*). In the first case I can affirm or deny the existence of something, that is, I can say that it is or is not. In the second I may affirm or deny that a given quality belongs or not to the subject. In this way according to the example given by Sthiramati a *sādhya* can be of either of the following types:—

(*a*) "the *ātman* is, is not."

(*b*) "the *ātman* is all-pervading" or "sound is non-eternal".

The proof, or *sādhana*, consists of eight terms, although the list and the definition of these vary remarkably in the various texts that represent our sources.

| A. | B. |
|---|---|
| (1) *pratijñā*, proposition, 立宗, *dam.bca.ba*. | Id. |
| (2) *hetu*, reason, 辯因, *gtan.ts'igs*. | Id. |
| (3) *dṛṣṭānta*, example, 引喩, *dper.brjod.pa*. | Id. |
| (4) *sādharmya*, homogeneity, 同類, *mt'un.pa*. | Application, 合. |
| (5) *vaidharmya*, heterogeneity, 異類, *mi.mt'un.pa*. | Conclusion, 結. |
| (6) *pratyakṣa*, direct perception, 現量, *mṅon.sum.pa*. | Id. |
| (7) *anumāna*, inference, 比量, *rjes.su.dpag.pa*. | Id. |
| (8) *āgama*, authority, 至教, *yid.c'es.pai.luṅ*. | Id. |

(1) "Proposition," *pratijñā*.

A. *Pratijñā* consists in maintaining as one's own thesis a particular point of view concerning the twofold *probandum* already referred to. It is either based on the *śāstra*, or is the result of an independent intuition (*pratibhā*), or has been



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heard from somebody else. And it is designed either to maintain one's particular point of view, or to show the mistake in another's argument, or to subdue the other's pride, etc.

B. *Pratijñā* is the argument that the *vādin* accepts of his own free will, as that which must be proved (以所應成自所許義 = **sādhyatvena svayam anujñāto 'rthaḥ*); and it must be expressed to others in such a way that they can understand. Sthiramati explains how the various elements of the definition are necessary; "that which must be proved," because what is already proved is not a thesis; "accepts of his own free will," because what is said by another is not a *pratijñā*; "to others," in order to show that it takes place where there are a *vādin* and a *prati-vādin*; "expressed by words," because what is expressed by mere signs (*iṅgita*) of the body is not a *pratijñā*; "in such a way that they can understand it" because a proposition the meaning of which is not clear cannot be called a *pratijñā*.

(2) "Reason," *hetu*.

A. *Hetu* is meant to prove the *probandum*, and it shows forth that logical reason which is derived from the "example", "homogeneity," "heterogeneity," "direct perception," "inference," and "authority".

B. When an object (*artha*) to be proved is not yet evident, the reason consists in the indication of those characteristics which will make it known, and which rest upon its perceptibility or non-perceptibility by direct perception and so on. Perceptibility and non-perceptibility concern either the essence (自體, *svabhāva*) or the form (相貌, *nimitta*).

(3) "Example," *dṛṣṭānta*.

A. This also is designed to prove the *probandum*; it consists in adducing those same *dharmas* which are inherent in a reason and which are accepted by common belief, general knowledge, etc.

B. It consists in expressing the relation between what is

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seen (*dṛṣṭa-anta*) and what is not yet seen (未川, *adṛṣṭa-anta*).

(4) A. "Homogeneity," that is similarity of characteristics (相貌, *rtags, nimitta*); similarity of essence (自體, *ṅo.bo.ñid, svabhāva*); similarity of action (業, *las, karma*); similarity of attributes (法, *c'os, dharma*); similarity of cause and effect (因果, *rgyu.daṅ.ạbras, kārya-kāraṇa*). It is worthy of notice that according to the Chinese translation the last four are subdivisions of the first item.

B. "Application" is a logical rule, rightly expressed, which adduces other facts belonging to the same class or genus in order to prove the attribute (of the subject).

(5) A. "Heterogeneity," reciprocal diversity. It has four aspects, which are the opposites of those referred to under (4) (or five according to the Tibetan translation).

B. "Conclusion." This consists in affirming that certitude has been reached.

Here Sthiramati gives the following example of a syllogism:—Suppose that a Buddhist wants to maintain against an *ātma-vādin* that the *ātman* does not exist. He will argue in this way:—

(1) *pratijñā*: all *dharmas* are *anātman*.

(2) reason: because, if we assume (*prajñapti*) that the *ātman* is in the *skandhas*, we fall into a fourfold mistake.[1]

[1] Four cases are possible:—(*a*) the *ātman* has the characteristics of the *skandhas*; (*b*) it is in the *skandhas*; (*c*) it is in another place; (*d*) it is assumed without any relation to the *skandhas*.

(*a*) As the *skandhas* are not autonomous, but dependent on causes and conditions and subject to birth and destruction, the same implication would be necessary as far as the *ātman* is concerned; but this is contradictory to the common definition of the *ātman*.

(*b*) As the *skandhas* which are the basis (所依, *āśraya* or *ādhāra*) are non-eternal, the *ātman* which rests upon them (能依, *ādheya*) must be non-eternal.

(*c*) In this case the *ātman* would be without cause and therefore without function (無用, *niṣkriya*).

(*d*) In this case the *ātman* would be isolated and free; no need therefore to strive for its liberation.

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(3) "Example," namely those which we make when we assume that in the present the past is still existent.[1]

(4) "Application": as the *ātman* has been refuted, the other attributes also, such as eternity, etc., are to be declared non-existent.

(5) "Conclusion": therefore the five *skandhas* are *anātman* and non-eternal.

(6) "Direct perception."

A. This has three characteristics, that is :—

(*a*) it is evident, 非不現見, *lhog.tu.ma.gyur.pa.*, *a-parokṣa.*

(*b*) devoid of imagination, 非思構所成; but Tib. *mṅon . par . brtags . zin . yin . pa . ma . yin . pa . daṅ* (reading doubtful) *. brtags . par . bya . ba . yaṅ . ma . yin . pai . mṅon . sum . gyi . ts'ad . ma .* = **parikalpita-parikalpya-abhāva.*

(*c*) devoid of error, 非錯亂所見, *ma . ạk'rul . pa.*, *a-bhrānta.*

(*a*) It derives from the senses when they are uninjured, and it precedes *manaskāra.* It depends upon (α) production of homogeneous perception, 同類生, *mt'un.pa.skyes.pa*; (β) production of heterogeneous perception, 異類生, *mi.mt'un.skyes.pa*; but Tibetan, followed by *Yogācarya-bhūmi-śāstra*, *yaṅ.dag.par.ạdas.pa.skyes.pa*, *samatikrānta-utpāda*; (γ) proximity, 不極遠, *t'ag.riṅ.pa.ma.yin.pa*, *an-ati-dūratā.*

(α) When the *indriyas* belonging to the sphere of *kāma* (*kāmāvacara*) perceive (lit. are born in) objects belonging to the same sphere.

(β) When the senses belonging to a superior *bhūmi* perceive objects belonging to a superior *bhūmi.*

(γ) Obstructions which must be absent in order to have a direct perception are of four kinds, (i) obstruction which derives from covering, as through darkness or ignorance; (ii) obstruction which derives from being hidden, as through the force of some *mantra*, etc.; (iii) obstruction which derives

[1] The same arguments must be repeated here *mutatis mutandis.*

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from being overpowered, 映障所礙, *zil.gyis.gnon.pa*, *abhibhava*, as the small by the great, etc.; (iv) obstruction which derives from bewilderment, *moha*, such as magic power, *māyā*, sleep, *taimirika*, etc.

(*b*) The second term also is twofold; first of all it includes the perception of objects which results as soon as these come in contact with us. So, e.g., when a doctor gives a medicine to a patient, through the colour, the smell, the taste, etc., he has a direct perception of the medicine. On the other hand, the virtues which are inherent in the medicine can only be imagined until the disease is over. They are no more imagined when one knows that the patient has recovered. The term refers also to the *adhimukti* or realization of a particular element, e.g. water, in another element, e.g. earth, in the process of meditation.

(*c*) *abhrānta* means absence of seven kinds of errors; these errors are the following:—

(*α*) *saṃjñā-bhrānti*, to think that an object is this when it is not this, *atasmin tad eva*; e.g. to take a mirage, *marīci*, for water.

(*β*) *saṅkhyā-bhrānti*; e.g. to see the complex in the elementary, as happens to the *taimirika*, who sees two moons instead of one.

(*γ*) *ākāra-bhrānti*, to suppose that an object has a certain form when it has not; e.g. to see a wheel in a turning fire.

(*δ*) *varṇa-bhrānti*; as in the case of someone suffering from *kamalā*, 迦末羅, *mig.ser.gyi.nad*.

(*ε*) *karma-bhrānti*, to attribute an action to something which in fact is not so acting; e.g. the appearance of movement in trees when one runs very fast.

(*ζ*) *dṛṣṭi-bhrānti*, to persist in the errors already referred to and to think that they correspond to reality.

(*η*) *citta-bhrānti*, to rejoice in these errors.

All these varieties of perception can be reduced to the four following:—

*rūpendriya-pratyakṣa*;

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*manaḥ-pratyakṣa* ;

*loka-pratyakṣa*, including in fact the two preceding ;

*śuddha-pratyakṣa*, which can be *laukika*, as well as *lokottara*.

B. Perception is the very thing, rightly perceived, devoid of error. "The very thing" and "rightly" are intended to express the right perception of the *rūpa*, etc., through the eyes and to indicate that a pot, etc., that, according to common belief, is the object of perception, is, in fact, not the object of perception, as it is only a conventional assumption. 假, "perceived," is meant to indicate that in the act of perception all the causes of obstruction must be absent ; "devoid of error" excludes false and erroneous perceptions, as that of a *marīci*, etc.

(7) *Anumāna.*

A. It consists in the discrimination of an object through imagination. It is of five kinds (cf. above, p. 463, (4) A) :—

*nimitta-anumāna* ; as to infer fire from smoke ; it depends on the fact that the relation between the two was noted before.

*sva-bhāva-anumāna* ; as to infer unperceived existence from a present perceived existence or from one part of an entity to deduce the unperceived part, e.g. to infer the past from the present or a car from a single portion of it, as a wheel.

*karma-anumāna*, from an action to infer the basis or the support of it ; e.g., when we see an object from afar, if it is motionless, we infer that it is a tree ; if it moves, we infer that it is a man.

*dharma-anumāna* ; when we know that many *dharmas* are inter-related, from the perception of some we infer the existence of the others. From birth we infer death, etc.

*kārya-kāraṇa-anumāna*, inference of notions which are related as cause and effect.

B. "Inference" is any conviction besides that derived from direct perception ; as, when we have already seen an

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object and now see only a part of it, we infer the other part.

(8) "Authority."

A. It includes the teachings of the wise or the doctrines that have been heard from them or are in accordance with them. It is of three kinds: (*a*) it is included in the holy words; or (*b*) it represents the opposite (*pratipakṣa*) of the passions; or (*c*) it is not contradictory to the characteristics of the law.

B. It is not contradictory to the other two *pramāṇas*.

At the end of this chapter A adds the following notes on the syllogism in general:—

If someone asks why we have to formulate the proposition when we want to establish the argument assumed by us, the reply is that this proposition is meant to show the argument that we wish to prove. The "reason" shows, on the other hand, that that logical and sure evidence which is based upon a manifest fact is not absent in the object to be proved. The "example" indicates that evident object in which this logical reason is seen to be present. The other five elements of a syllogism are meant to express contradiction and non-contradiction with the "reason" and the "example". This contradiction consists in two kinds of fallacies, *aniścita*, uncertain, 不決定, *ma.ṅes.pa*, and *sādhya-sama*, identical with the probandum, 同所成, *bsgrub.par.bya.ba.daṅ.ḍra.ba*. The *aviruddha*, on the other hand, is certain, *niścita*, *aikāntika*, 決定, *gcig.tu.ṅes.pa*, and different from the *sādhya*, 異所成, *bsgrub.par.bya.bai.k'yad.pa*.

## III

These are the contents of the logical chapters of the Yogācāra works as preserved in Chinese and partly in Tibetan. It is quite evident that they have a mixed character; purely logical doctrines are inserted in dogmatical discussions, and generally the various topics

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are treated in such a way as to testify that *hetu-vidyā* did not yet fit quite well into the general scheme of the doctrine. Even those sections that deal with mere *vivāda*-rules, e.g. those dedicated to the *nigraha-sthānas*, have a far less systematic character than in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* or in the *Upāya-hṛdaya*; many of the items which come under that group have in fact very little to do with logic. The theory of the *nigraha-sthānas* itself is not based on the classification of the possible wrong formulations of a syllogism. A comparison with the list of the *nigraha-sthānas* given in the *Nyāya-sūtras* and in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* will prove useful in establishing the relation between the various texts.

| NYĀYA-SŪTRAS (V, ii, 1). | CARAKA-SAṂHITĀ [1] | A AND B |
|---|---|---|
| *pratijñā-hāni* | id. (4) | |
| *pratijñāntara* | | = III, *g* |
| *pratijñā-virodha* | *viruddha* (13, cf. *vākya-doṣa*) | |
| *pratijñā-sannyāsa* | | — I, *vacana-sannyāsa* |
| *hetv-antara* | id. (14) | included in II |
| *arthāntara* | id. (15) | included in II |
| *nirarthaka* | id. (10, *vyartha*, cf. under *vākya-doṣa*) | under III, *e* |
| *avijñātārtha* | | = III, *c*, obscurity of expression |
| *apārthaka* | id. (11; cf. under *vākya-doṣa*) | under III, *e* |
| *aprāpta-kāla* | *kālātīta* (6) | III, *f* |
| *nyūna* | id. (8) | = III, *c* |
| *adhika* | id. (9) | III, *c* |

[1] The numbers in brackets show the serial order that the various *Nigraha-sthānas* have in the actual list of the *Caraka-saṃhitā*.

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| NYĀYA-SŪTRAS (V, ii, 1). | CARAKA-SAṂHITĀ | A AND B |
|---|---|---|
| *punar-ukta* | id. (12) | |
| *ananubhāṣaṇa* | | included in II |
| *ajñāna* | id. (1) | |
| *apratibhā* | | included in II |
| *vikṣepa* | | *vacanābhibhava* II |
| *matānujñā* | id. (5, *abhyanujñā*) | |
| *paryanuyojyo-pekṣaṇa* | id. (3, *anuyojyasyā-nanuyoga*) | |
| *niranuyojyānuyoga* | id. (2, *ananuyoj-yasyānuyoga*) | |
| *apa-siddhānta* | | |
| *hetv-ābhāsa* | *ahetu* (7) | *prakaraṇa-sama*<br>*saṃśaya-sama*<br>*varṇya-sama* |

It is quite evident that we are confronted in A with unsystematic and perhaps archaic theories of the *nigraha-sthānas*, the classification of which seems to have been suggested more by extrinsic reasons concerning the behaviour of the disputants than by analysis of the intrinsic errors of a speech. Moreover, we do not find any trace of technical terminology. An argument is considered as wrong chiefly because it does not convey any meaning. Therefore it receives the general designation of "*vyartha*", meaningless. The ten varieties of this can be reduced to five only, as rightly suggested by Sthiramati himself. But this list of five has nothing in common with the five *hetv-ābhāsas* of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, except the *sādhya-sama*. The *anarthaka*, which happens when there is *arthānupalabdhi*, is the *anartha-nigraha-sthāna* of the N.S. and Caraka. The *apārthaka* is the same as that of Caraka and N.S. *Jāti* is simply enunciated.

Let us pass now to the most interesting section and consider first of all the question of the *pramāṇas*. Nāgārjuna knows only four *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *upamāna*,

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and *āgama*; these are referred to in the *Upāya-hṛdaya* and are refuted as self-contradictory in the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*.[1]

Asaṅga in his treatises reduces the means of knowledge to three only, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama*,[2] and it is quite evident that in B even *āgama* is authoritative, according to him, only in so far as it is based on the first two *pramāṇas*. We must study these means of knowledge separately.

*Pratyakṣa*, according to A, must be *aparokṣa*,[3] unmixed with imagination, *nirvikalpa*, and devoid of error, *abhrānta*, or *avyabhicāri*.[4]

The first two items of *aparokṣa* have some bearing upon the study of the dogmatics of Buddhist mysticism, but not so much upon the history of these doctrines, with which we are dealing here. The other two, *avyavadhāna* and *anatidūratā*, are more interesting to us, as they represent a classification of the various cases in which, owing to some hindrance, the direct perception of an object cannot be produced. The question of the *parokṣa* was discussed very early in Indian speculation. Patañjali and Caraka have already a list of the various *āvaraṇas*; then the complete series of the eight impediments that obstruct perception can be found in Vasu(bandhu)'s commentary on the *Śata-śāstra* of Āryadeva [5] and they perfectly agree with the list given in the Sāṅkhya treatises (*Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 7). The following scheme will show the analogies which our text presents with the other schools and at the same time its peculiarities.

[1] For the *Upāya-hṛdaya* and the *Vigraha* I can refer to my forthcoming translation in the Baroda Sanscrit Series.

[2] Three *pramāṇas* can be found also in the Commentary of Sthiramati upon the *Triṃśaka-kārikā* of Vasubandhu, p. 26.

[3] Or *aparīkṣita*; this expression is, in fact, in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, Sūtra-sthāna, xi, 8.

[4] The two terms are almost synonymous, and the Chinese as well as the Tibetan can be translated in both ways.

[5] For the list given in the *Śata-śāstra* see my translation of this text in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 1925.

On the *āvaraṇas*, according to Patañjali and Caraka, see Strauss, *Mahābhāṣya ad Pāṇini*, 4, 1, 3, in *Aus Indiens Kultur, Festgabe Richard von Garbe*, 1927, p. 84.

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| *Patañjali.* | *Caraka.* | *Comm. on the Ś(ata) Ś(āstra).* | *Sāṅkhya texts.* | A. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ati-sannikarṣa* | id. | id. (2) | as in Ś.Ś. | — |
| *ati-viprakarṣa* | id. | id. (1) | as in Ś.Ś. | *dūratā* |
| *mūrty-antara-vyavadhāna* | *āvaraṇa* | *vyavadhāna* (6) | id. | 1, 2 |
| *tamasāvṛtatva* | | | | |
| *indriya-daur-balyatva* | *karaṇa-daur-balya* | *indriya-ghāta* | id. | |
| *ati-pramāda* | *mano-'nava-sthāna* | *mano 'nav.* | id. | 4, *moha* |
| | *samānābhi-hāra* | *samānābhihāra* (7) | id. | |
| | *abhibhava* | *abhibhava* (7) | id. | 3, |
| | *ati-saukṣmya* | *saukṣmya* (5) | id. | *abhibhava* |

The next necessary quality of *pratyakṣa* is according to A *abhrānta* or *avyabhicāri*; that is, it must be devoid of error. These errors can be of five kinds; in fact, it is evident that the two other errors given by Asaṅga in the supplementary list of the seven *bhrāntis*, I mean *citta-bhrānti* and *dṛṣṭi-bhrānti* have more a dogmatical than a logical bearing and belong rather to inference than to direct perception. The *saṁjñā-bhrānti*, defined as consisting in believing *atasmin tad*, corresponds to the *savyabhicāri*, as understood by Vātsyāyana in commenting on N.S., I, 1, 4. It is rather interesting to note that the other varieties of *bhrānti* were accepted by Dharmakīrti, as we can infer from the examples given for each of them. Thus the *saṅkhyā-bhrānti* (example, *timira*, as in Dharmak.) corresponds to the *indriya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of N.B.T.; the *nimitta-bhrānti* (example, *alāta-cakra*, as in N.B.T.; N.B. *āśu-bhramaṇa*) corresponds to the *viṣaya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa*; *karma-bhrānti* (example, a moving tree, as in N.B.T.; *nau-yāna* of the N.B.) corresponds to the *bāhyāśraya-sthita-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of the N.B.T.; *varṇa-bhrānti* (*kamala*) corresponds to the *saṃkṣobha* of the N.B., that is, to the *adhyātma-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of the N.B.T. We must not discuss here whether Asaṅga was right in assuming that *saṃjñā-bhrānti* is a separate class[1]; but we

[1] In fact, it is clear that all the various *bhrāntis* consist in assuming *atasmin tad*.

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must insist upon this analogy between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti. We know that Diṅnāga does not add the attribute *abhrānta* to his definition of *pratyakṣa* and that in his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti* he attacked the epithet *avyabhicāri* given by the Naiyāyikas. On the other hand, Dharmakīrti defines *pratyakṣa* not merely as *kalpanāpoḍha*, but as *kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam*. This addition is not an innovation introduced by him, but due to his acceptance of the old theory of the Sautrāntikas. This fact is not only proved by our texts, but also is clearly pointed out by Mallivādin in his *Ṭippaṇī* (p. 19, Stcherbatsky ed.).

But Asaṅga adds another division of *pratyakṣa* in four items, that is :—

(*a*) *rūpendriya-pratyakṣa* ;

(*b*) *manaḥ-pr.* ;

(*c*) *laukika-pr.*, which includes these two ;

(*d*) *śuddha-pr.*, pure, which can be either *laukika* or *lokottara*.

This classification of direct perception is also worthy of notice, because it shows some points of contact with the fourfold *pratyakṣa* which we find in Diṅnāga as well as in Dharmakīrti. In fact, it is easy to recognize that the first two items and the last correspond respectively to the *rūpendriya*, *manaḥ*, and *yogi-pratyakṣa* of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, *Nyāya-mukha*, *Nyāya-bindu*, etc. It is difficult to see what the third item is meant to represent, but it seems that it has nothing to do with the *sva-saṃvedana-pratyakṣa*, which is very likely to have been an innovation due to Diṅnāga and depending on his epistemological theories.

But, as it is evident from the texts, Asaṅga knew another definition of direct perception, namely that which we find in the *Saṅgīti* ; here the *pratyakṣa* is the very thing rightly perceived and devoid of error. The Chinese 自正明了無迷亂義 presupposes an original like this, *svayaṃ saṃyak-pratīto 'bhrānto 'rthah*. The com-

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mentary by Sthiramati clearly indicates that this definition is meant to distinguish the exact perception from the fictitious ; we cannot speak of having a perception of a pot. In fact, when we see a pot we cannot say that the knowledge that we have of the pot is direct perception, as this is confined to *rūpa*, etc., that is, to the *dharmas* from which it results. We find, therefore, here the same definition of direct perception which was formulated by Vasubandhu. In fact, we know from Uddyotakara that this master gave the following definition of *pratyakṣa* :—" *tato 'rthād vijñānam* " (*Nyāya-vārttika*, Benares ed., p. 40). That in this and in many other places Uddyotakara quotes *verbatim* from the works of Vasubandhu, and chiefly from his *Vāda-vidhi*, is proved by the refutation that Diṅnāga writes of that same definition, which he attributes to the *Vāda-vidhi*.

*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, chap. i, fol. 3*a* :—

*don.de.las.skyes.rnam.par.šes.*
*mṅon.sum.yin.žes.bya.bai. . . .*

*P.S.Vṛtti*,[1] *a*, fol. 16 :—

*don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.šes.*
*mṅon.sum.yin.žes.bya.bai.ḍir. . . .*

*P.S.V.*, *b*, fol. 79*b* :—

*don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.par.šes.pa.mṅon.sum.yin.*
*no.žes.bya.ba.ḍir. . . .*

It is important to see how one and the same author is trying to define perception in two different ways.

The fact is that according to the *Sūtras* or even to the Abhidharma literature there is hardly any place for *Pratyakṣa*, as it is understood in the other schools. It was relatively easy for the Vaiśeṣika or the Nyāya, both being realistic systems, to formulate a theory of perception, but it was

[1] As I said before, we have two translations of the *vṛtti* of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, which do not always agree and seem to be very often defective. This fact increases the difficulty of the text, which is one of the most abstruse.

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not so easy to introduce this doctrine into a system which is chiefly based on the *dharma* theory and in which there was only question of particular moments of internal *vijñānas*, each corresponding to its analogous external *āyatana* or *dhātu*. The definition as given in the *Saṅgīti* and strictly related to that of Vasubandhu is more in accordance with the traditional dogmatics; the second is far more elaborate and it is of the highest interest, as we already find there the terms which will be accepted by Diṅnāga (*kalpanāpoḍha*) and by Dharmakīrti (*abhrānta*), showing therefore the first noticeable attempt towards the later and more organic development of Buddhist logic.

If we pass now to *anumāna*, or inference, we must point out that no explicit mention is to be found either in A or in B of the distinction between the *svārthānumāna* and the *parārthānumāna*, which is expounded in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, but which was certainly anterior to Diṅnāga. In fact, the *parārthānumāna* was known to the *Tarka-śāstras*, as we shall see later on. But the distinction is implied in Asaṅga. Although, in accordance with traditional dialectics, the syllogism comes first in his works, *anumāna*, included in the list of the *pramāṇas*, represents the subjective means through which we can apprehend an object or a truth, quite independently of that verbal formulation which is inherent in a syllogism, and consists in the evident and valid conclusion that our mind can draw from some facts previously ascertained by direct experience.

To the two definitions contained in A and B we may add that of the *Vāda-vidhi*, referred to and criticized by Diṅnāga :—

*P.S.*, ii, fol. 9*a* :—

*de.la.med.na.mi.ạbyuṅ.ba.*
*raṅ.rig.rnam.pas.ạdod.ce.na.*

*P.S.V.*, chap. ii, *a*, fol. 34*b* :—

*rtsod . pa . sgrub . pa . nas . ni . med . na . mi . ạbyuṅ . bai . don.mt'oṅ.ba.de.rig.pa.rjes.su.dpag.pa'o.*

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*P.S.V.*, *b*, chap. ii, fol. 116*b* :—

*rtsod . sgrub . par . med*[1] *. na . mi . ạbyuṅ . bai . don . mt'oṅ . ba . de . rig . pa . ni . rjes . su . dpag . pa'o.*

Now in this sentence we can easily recognize the definition of *anumāna* quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara in his *Nyāya-vārttika*, p. 54, *apare tu bruvate nāntarīyakārtha-darśanaṃ tad-vido 'numānam.* It is therefore evident that here also we are confronted with another fragment from Vasubandhu ; consequently the attribution of this definition to Diṅnāga himself, as suggested by Randle, cannot be accepted. *Anumāna* presents the five fundamental aspects [2] which we shall find in the homogeneous example ; that is, we may have *nimitta-anum.*, *bhava-anum.*, *karma-anum.*, *dharma-anum.*, *kārya-kāraṇa-anum.* Only two items of this fivefold classification can be seen in the list of the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras* (*kārya*, *kāraṇa*, *saṃyogi*, *virodhi*, *samavāyi*, *V.S.* ix, ii, 1), while in Dharmakīrti we have, as is known, only *anupalabdhi*, *svabhāva*, and *kārya*. But, as we should expect, the section which is largely developed is that dealing with the syllogism. This is divided into two parts, a probandum, *sādhya*, and a proof, *sādhana*. The proof is said to be eightfold ; but the eight members are in fact reduced to five only, as the last three are nothing but the *pramāṇas* already referred to.

The first thing that we must point out is that the probandum is considered as separate from the syllogism itself ; it is not the *pratijñā* or proposition. This probandum can be of two kinds, either an " essence " or a " quality ", *svabhāva* or *viśeṣa*. In the first case the mere existence or non-existence of the subject can be predicated ; e.g. " the *ātman* is ", " the *ātman* is not." In the second case the probandum is a particular predicate which must be proved as belonging or not belonging to the subject, e.g. " the *ātman* is all-pervading ", " the *ātman* is not all-pervading." This notion of the *sādhya* is

[1] Xyl., *byed*.
[2] Randle, *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, p. 21.

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common to both A and B ; but, if we consider the five *avayavas*, which constitute the syllogism, the difference between the two groups of texts is greater. *Pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta* occur in both groups, although there is some difference as regards the various terms. But the last two terms are enunciated in a quite different way. While in B we find the same terms as in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, which occur also under another name in Praśastapāda, in A we have only "homogeneity" and "heterogeneity", which are nothing but two different aspects of the *dṛṣṭānta* itself, as K'uei Chi already recognized.

This fact is worthy of notice, because it shows that, while in the first instance Asaṅga followed the ancient scheme, as handed down in the various *Tarka-śāstras*, or *Vivāda-śāstras*, in his greater work he acknowledges that the last two members are superfluous, thus practically reducing the syllogism to three members only, as it is proved by the additional notes with which he concludes the section that we are studying. If we were to follow the explanation of Sthiramati, we should be compelled to admit that a three-membered syllogism is also expounded in the *Saṅgīti*. But I do not think that his interpretation is exact. Although the definition given by the *Saṅgīti* is not perfectly clear, it seems that *upanaya* consists for Asaṅga in referring to the subject the analogous facts ascertained by the example, in order to prove the attribute expounded in the proposition. Sthiramati lived long after Asaṅga, when Buddhist logic, chiefly through the speculations of the *Tarka-śāstras* of Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga, had reached a well-developed and advanced stage. At that time the syllogism was generally considered to be composed of three terms only ; so that, in order to bring the *Saṅgīti* into accordance with the new theories without altering the textual reading of the book, Sthiramati, who according to the Chinese sources was well versed in logic (*BEFEO*. 1911, p. 379), tried to give the terms another meaning. In fact, the syllogism that he gives as an

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instance is really composed of three members only. The other two are meant to express that other attributes, proved by the same reason, can be predicated of the subject. That the reason "because it is a product" can prove the non-eternity as well as the absence of *ātman* is accepted by Diṅnāga also and Dharmakīrti.

Therefore I am inclined to think that in the *Saṅgīti* we have, in fact, the traditional type of syllogism of five members, which Sthiramati, in his commentary, endeavours to explain in accordance with the new theories. If it be so, A would represent the first text in which we find an attempt to decrease the members of the syllogism.

We can represent the theories held by Asaṅga concerning the syllogism in the following way :—

A.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *sādhya* | sound | | "non-eternal" |
| | *svabhāva* | | *viśeṣa* |
| *sādhana* | *pratijñā* | | "sound is non-eternal" |
| | *hetu* | | "because it is a product" |
| | *dṛṣṭānta* | homogeneity, | "as a pot" |
| | | heterogeneity, | "as the ether" |

B.

| | |
|---|---|
| *sādhya* | as before |
| *sādhana* | *pratijñā* |
| | *hetu* |
| | *dṛṣṭānta* |
| | *upanaya* |
| | *nigamana* |

Be that as it may, the fact remains that we do not find in Asaṅga any trace of the theory of the threefold aspect of a "reason", the *trairūpya*, which certainly represents the starting point of the new logic. At least we have no grounds either for affirming or denying that Asaṅga must be credited with this innovation, which at any rate is very far from that perfection of elaboration which is the chief merit of Diṅnāga's logic. At any rate, we know that some of the *Tarka-śāstras* expounded a five-membered syllogism, while in the Chinese sources this reduction of the syllogism to three members



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is generally attributed to Vasubandhu, a statement that is supported by Vācaspati Miśra himself.[1] For Vasubandhu the three *avayavas* are *pratijñā*, *hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta*. We shall see subsequently his definition of the "reason". So far as the *pratijñā* is concerned, we know from Uddyotakara that the definition proposed by the *Vāda-vidhi* was *sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñā* (*N.V.* 117). This definition might at the first glance appear similar to that given by the Naiyāyikas; but this is not the case, as the word *sādhya* has in the definition of the *Vāda-vidhi* a different and peculiar meaning; here, in fact, *sādhya* is understood as *pakṣa-dharma*, where *pakṣa* is the object to be proved in the course of the discussion. This can be gathered from the full definition quoted in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, chap. iii, fol. 45*b*, *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . bsgrub . byar . brjod . pa . tsaṃ . dam . bca' . bar . ạgyur . ba . ma . yin . gyi . ạdi . ltar . p'yogs . bsgrub . bya . yin . no . p'yogs . de . ci . cig . rnam . par . dpyad . pai . ạdod . pai . don . te.* *P.S.V. b*, 127*b*: *rtsod . pa . bsgrub . par . ni . bsgrub . bya . brjod . pa . tsam . dam . bca' . ba . ma . yin . gyi . 'on . kyaṅ . p'yogs . kyi . c'os . bsgrub . bya'o . p'yogs . gaṅ . yin . pa . rnam . par . dpyad . par . ạdod . pai . don . p'yogs . yin . te.* This means that the definition *sādhyābhidhāna-mātram* has not the same meaning as in the *Nyāya-sūtras* and therefore is not subject to the refutation that Diṅnāga made of the *N.S.* *Sādhya* is said to have here a technical sense. The original of the sentence, which is evidently composed of two fragments put together by Diṅnāga, in order to show how the *Vāda-vidhi* interpreted the definition, can easily be restored into Sanscrit: *Vāda-vidhau sādhyābhidhāna-mātram pratijñā na bhavati, api tu pakṣadharmaḥ sādhyam . pakṣo vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo 'rtho.* The restoration is obvious, as the second part of the definition is also to be found in the *Nyāya-vārttika* (p. 106) in a place where Uddyotakara refutes the Buddhist theories concerning the *pakṣa*. In this way we have also identified

[1] *N.V.T.*, p. 298 (Benares ed.), *atra Vasubandhunā pratijñādayas trayo-'vayavā dur-vihitā Akṣapādalakṣaṇenety uktam*; cf. *N.V.*, p. 136.

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another of the manifold doctrines criticized by Uddyotakara in the course of his work without giving the name of their author.

No allusion, so far as I know, can be found in the *Nyāya-vārttika* to the theory of the "example" expounded in the *Vāda-vidhi*; but, fortunately, the definition of the *dṛṣṭānta* given in that book has been preserved by Diṅnāga; and from this it appears that according to Vasubandhu the example is the expression of the relation between the reason and the *sādhya*. *P.S.V. a*, chap. iv, fol. 70*b*: *rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa.nas.de.dag.gi.ạbrel.ba.ṅes.par.ston.pa.ni.dpe.ste.* *P.S.V. b*, fol. 154*a*: *rtsod.pa.sgrub.par.ni.de.dag.ạbrel.bar.bstan.pa.gaṅ.yin.pa.ạdi.brjod.pa.dpe.yin.te.*

But what about the "reason"? Must the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory of the *hetu* be really attributed to Diṅnāga or is it an innovation of Praśastapāda? Or are there proofs through which we can safely assume that it was anterior to both? Our sources show beyond any doubt that the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory was known to the Buddhist schools before Diṅnāga.

First of all, we gather both from K'uei Chi and from Shên T'ai [1] that the theory of the *vi-pakṣa* was known to the ancient masters, who held two different opinions about it, which were not accepted by Diṅnāga. Some thought that the *vi-pakṣa* is that which excludes the *sa-pakṣa* as well as the *pakṣa*; so in the syllogism "sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot" the *vi-pakṣa* "ether" excludes the contrary of the non-eternal as well as of the pot. On the other hand, other logicians said that the *vi-pakṣa* is everything except the non-eternal, while for Diṅnāga, as is known, *vi-pakṣa* is *yatra pakṣo na vidyate*. We find here the same terms and elements which are peculiar to the definition of the reason as given by Diṅnāga or in the *versus memoriales* quoted by Praśastapāda. Moreover, the actual

[1] K'uei Chi, chap. iii, Shên T'ai, chap. ii. Even for the *Tarka-śāstra* preserved in Chinese (see above, pp. 452 sqq.) the third *lakṣaṇa* of the *hetu* is *vi-pakṣa-vyāvṛtti*.

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definition of the *hetu* contained in the *Vāda-vidhi* and refuted by Diṅnāga confirms the Chinese sources. In fact, in that book the reason is said to consist in the enunciation of that *dharma* which is non-existent where there is no attribute analogous to the *sādhya*.

*P.S.V. a*, chap. iii, fol. 57*b*: *rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa.nas.de. mt'un.med.la.med.pa.yi.c'os.bstan.rtags.žes.pa.*

*P.S.V. b*, fol. 138*a*: *rtsod.pa.bsgrub.par.ni.de.lta.bui. med.na.mi.ạbyuṅ.bai.c'os.ñe.bar.bstan.pa.ni.gtan. ts'igs.so.*

Diṅnāga objects to the formal exactness of the definition; but it seems that even for Vasubandhu the *pakṣa-dharmatā*, *vi-pakṣe sattva*, *sa-pakṣe sattva* were the three fundamental characteristics of the reason. And, as we shall see later on, we have another text almost certainly anterior to Diṅnāga in which the three *lakṣaṇa*-theory is clearly expounded.

We must now consider the various theories concerning logical errors. Asaṅga, in the concluding portion of A, reduces all the possible logical errors to the contradictory, which contains two sub-groups, inconclusive, *aniścita* or *anaikāntika* and *sādhya-sama*. There is no trace of this theory in B, where allusion to logical mistakes can be found eventually in the section dedicated to the *nigraha-sthānas*.

On the other hand, the *Vāda-vidhi* knows the same list of the *hetv-ābhāsas* as is accepted by Diṅnāga, that is, *asiddha*, *aniścita*, and *viruddha*. The definition of these errors, if we are to follow the statement of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, was not given in the *Vāda-vidhi*; but they were only enunciated and specified through a corresponding example.[1]

[1] *P.S.V. a*, chap. iii, 63*b*: *de.la.re.žig.rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa.nas.ma grub.pa.daṅ.ma.ṅes.pa.daṅ.ạgal.bai.don.ni.gtan.ts'igs.ltar. snaṅ.ba'o.žes.zer.ro.de.la.ma.grub.pa.la.sogs.pa.ni.dper. brjod.nas.mts'an.ñid.ma.yin.te.dper.na.mig.gi[s].gzuṅ.bya.yin. pai.p'yir.mi.rtag.go.žes.bya.ba.ma.grub.pa.daṅ.lus.can.ma. yin.pai.p'yir.rtag.go.žes.bya.ba.ma.ṅes.pa.daṅ.bye.brag. rnams.kyi.dbaṅ.po.las.byuṅ.bai.p'yir.mi.rtag.go.žes.bya.ba. ạgal.ba.gcig.daṅ.graṅ.can.pai.rgyu.la.ạbras.bu.yod.pa.yin. te.yod.pa.skye.pai.p'yir.ro.žes.bya.ba.ạgal.ba.gñis.pa'o.*

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*Asiddha*: "sound is non-eternal, because it is perceived by the eye."

*Aniścita*: "sound is eternal, because it is formless."

The *viruddha* can be of two kinds, (*a*) if a Vaiśeṣika maintains that sound is eternal because it can be perceived by the senses; (*b*) if a Sāṅkhya says that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, because it is born. This means that according to the *Vāda-vidhi*, as is in fact proved by another passage of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, the *viruddha-hetvābhāsa* is either *pratijñā-viruddha* or *siddhānta-viruddha*, a theory that is refuted by Diṅnāga in the *Nyāya-mukha* as well as in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*.

Thus, gathering and comparing the various fragments and quotations scattered in the sources still available, we can supply, in a certain way at least, the loss of the original texts and attain a better knowledge of logical theories accepted or formulated by Buddhist writers before Diṅnāga.

The first result of these investigations is that long before Diṅnāga logic, which as *tarka* or *hetu-vidyā* was blamed and condemned by the ancient schools, was accepted at least as a subsidiary science by the Buddhist doctors and developed

*P.S.V. b*, fol. 146*a*: *rc . žig . rtsod . pa . bsgrub . par . ni . ma . grub . pa . daṅ . ma . ṅes . pa . daṅ . ạgal . ba . ni . don . ñid . gtan . ts'igs . kyi . skyon . yin . te . de . la . ma . grub . pa . la . sogs . pa . rnams . kyi . mts'an . ñid . ma . bšad . par . dpe . rnams . bšad . pa . ni . dper . na . ma . grub . pa . ni . sgra . mi . rtag . ste . mig . gis . gzuṅ . bai . p'yir . žes . bya . ba . daṅ . ma . ṅes . pa . ni . lus . can . ma . yin . pai . p'yir . rtag . go . žes . bya . ba . lta . bu'o . bye . brag . par . rnams . kyi . dbaṅ . pos . gzuṅ . bar . bya . yin . pai . p'yir . mi . rtag . go . žes . bya . bai . ạgal . ba . gcig . daṅ . graṅs . can . gyi . ạbras . bu . rgyu . la . yod . pa . yin . te . skye . bai . p'yir . ro . žes . pa . ni . ạgal . ba . gñis . pa . yin . no.*

*P.S.V. a*, 46, chap. iii, *b*: *rtsod . par . sgrub . par . ni . ạdi . ạgal . bai . gtan . ts'igs . ltar . snaṅ . ba . ñid . kyi . k'oṅ . du . bsdus . te . mts'an . ñid . de . lta . bu . las . ni . ạgal . ba . daṅ . ldan . min . de . ni . ạgal . bar . rnam . pa . gñis . su . bstan . te . dam . bca' . bai . don . daṅ . ạgal . ba . daṅ . grub . pai . daṅ . ạgal . ba'o.*

*P.S.V. b*, chap. iii, fol. 129*a*: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . pai . yaṅ . ạdi . ạgal . bai . gtan . ts'igs . ñid . du . ạdus . pa . yin . gyi . dei . mts'an . ñid . k'o . nas . de . ni . ạgal . ldan . min . der . ni . ạgal . ba . rnam . pa . gñis . bstan . te . dam . bca' . ba . daṅ . ạgal . ba . daṅ . grub . pa . mt'a' . daṅ . ạgal . ba'o.*

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on independent lines. Great masters such as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and perhaps many others whose names are lost, perfected the ancient rules of discussion, *kathā* or *vivāda*. Asaṅga was, as far as we can guess, the first to introduce *hetu-vidyā* in his dogmatical works.

The growth of the great philosophical systems, the codification, so to say, of the *sūtras*, the blossoming of a large dogmatical literature, devoted to commenting upon them, involved the sects in many discussions and struggles, through which not only were *vivāda* and its rules perfected, but mere heuristic began to leave the place to logic and epistemology, an achievement for which Diṅnāga was mainly responsible.

Even for Vasubandhu logic was still a section of *vāda*; and, in fact, all the books written by him on this topic seem to have had the title *vāda*. According to Shen T'ai some of his works were :—

(1) 論心, *Lun hsin*, *Vāda-hṛdaya*, a title which reminds us very much of the **Upāya-hṛdaya*. The restoration as *Vāda-kauśala*, proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, is untenable.

(2) 論式, *Lun shih*, which is the *Rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa* of the Tibetan sources and the *Vāda-vidhi* of Uddyotakara, the fragments of which we have collected in this paper.

(3) 論軌, *Lun kuei*. This Vidyābhūṣaṇa restores arbitrarily as *Vāda-mārga*. In a previous paper I had no definite suggestion to advance.[1] But now I think that more precision is possible: 式 *shih* and 軌 *kuei* are synonyms in Chinese; therefore we have to suppose that even in the Sanscrit original two synonyms were used, *vidhāna* conveying the same meaning as *vidhi*, just as *shih* is equivalent to *kuei*. The Sanscrit sources confirm this hypothesis; in fact, a *Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkā* is quoted in the *Nyāya-vārttika*, p. 117, *yad api Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkāyāṃ sādhayatīti śabdasya svayaṃ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viśeṣaṇaṃ sādhayatīti kilāyaṃ śabdaḥ prayojye prayoktari ca tulya-rūpo bhavatīti. . . .* We

[1] See my Notes on the fragments from Diṅnāga, *JRAS*. 1928, 379–90.

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find here expressed the same theory as already met with in that passage of the *Saṃyukta-saṅgīti* in which Sthiramati, who, as is known, was a follower of Vasubhandhu, is commenting upon the definition of the *pratijñā* contained in the *Saṅgīti*. Therefore I think that we can safely restore the Chinese 論軌 as *Vāda-vidhāna*.

Another conclusion that seems to follow from the material collected is that the question of a mutual borrowing between Diṅnāga and Prasaśtapāda must be dropped. The fact that the theory of the three *lakṣaṇas* of a reason was known before Diṅnāga rather implies that each master took it, although perhaps developing and formulating it in a better and more organic way, from some other, previous, school of *Vāda-śāstra* which, in this respect at least, held different views from those expounded in the *Nyāya-sūtras*. That this is really the case is proved by the fact that we have another text anterior to Diṅnāga in which the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the *Tarka-śāstra*,[1] which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India, but also in Central Asia and in China. Dharmagupta studied that book while residing in Kuchā. Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.[2] We do not know its author; but it is evident that the present redaction of the text, as it has been handed down to us, was written by some Buddhist. Now in the second section of this book, dedicated to the *jātis*, under the item *sādharmya-khaṇḍana* or *sādharmya-śama*, we read the following sentence 我立因三種相是根本法同類所攝異類相離, which translated into Sanscrit runs thus:— *asmābhis tri-lakṣaṇo hetuḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ; tad yathā pakṣa-dharmaḥ sapakṣa-sattvaṃ vipakṣa-vyāvṛttiḥ*. References to the same doctrine can be found in other passages of the same book.

[1] On the 如實論 see Ui's *Studies in Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, 222.
[2] The commentary written by Paramārtha was called 如實論疏. Cf. *BEFEO*. 1911, p. 351, n. It is lost.

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Although the text contains a list of *nigraha-sthānas* which is almost identical with that in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, it presents also some very precise similarities to views accepted by Vasubandhu. We know from Diṅnāga that the theory of the *jātis*, as expounded by Vasubandhu in his *Vāda-vidhi*, was different from that expounded by Akṣapāda. Vasubandhu divided all the possible cases of *jātis* into three groups, *viparīta*, *abhūta*, *viruddha*, and in each of these were comprehended various sub-groups, which have been quoted by Diṅnāga in the following way :—

*P.S.V. a*, chap. vi, fol. 94*a*: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . p'yin . ci . log . daṅ . yaṅ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . ñid . daṅ . ạgal . ba . ñid . rnams . kyis . lan . skyon . brjod . pa . yin . no . žes . brjod . do . de . la . p'yin . ci . log . ni . c'os . mt'un . pa . daṅ . c'os . mi . mt'un . pa . daṅ . rnam . par . rtogs . pa . daṅ . bye . brag . med . pa . daṅ . p'rad . pa . daṅ . ma . p'rad . pa . rnams . la . ni . gtan . ts'igs . dmigs . šin . ạbras . bu . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa . ni . t'e . ts'om . du . brjod . do.*

*P.S.V. b*, fol. 177*a*: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . p'yin . ci . log . daṅ . yaṅ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . daṅ . ạgal . ba . rnams . ni . lan . gyi . skyon . žes . bšad . pa . yin . no . de . la . p'yin . ci . log . pa . ni . c'os . mt'un . pa . daṅ . mi . mt'un . pa . daṅ . rnam . par . rtog . pa . daṅ . k'yad . par . med . daṅ . gtan . ts'igs . daṅ . p'rad . pa . daṅ . dmigs . pa . daṅ . t'e . ts'om . daṅ . ma . brjod . pa . daṅ . ạbras . bu . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o.*

*P.S.V. a*, fol. 95*a*: *yaṅ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . ni . t'al . ga . bar . ạgyur . ba . daṅ . don . kyis . go . bar . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o.*

95*b*: *ạgal . ba . ni . ma . skyes . pa . daṅ . rtag . par . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o.*

*P.S.V. b*, fol. 178*b*: *t'al . ba . daṅ . don . gyis . go . ba . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa . ni . yaṅ . dag . pa . [ma]* [1] *. yin . pa'o.*

Ibid.: *ma . skyes . pa . daṅ . rtag . pa . mts'uṅs . pa . la . sogs . pa . ạgal . ba . yin . pa.*

[1] Left out in the xyl.

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The text, especially in the passage concerning the *viparīta*, does not seem to be quite correct; but with the help of the commentary of Diṅnāga we can make a list of the *jātis* accepted by Vasubandhu which is analogous to that found in the fragment of the *Tarka-śāstra* preserved in Chinese, as is proved by the following scheme :—

| *Vāda-vidhi* | *Tarka-śāstra* |
|---|---|
| VIPARĪTA | |
| *sādharmya-sama* | 1 id. |
| *vaidharmya-sama* | 2 id. |
| *vikalpa-sama* | 3 id. |
| *aviśeṣa-sama* | 4 id. |
| *ahetu* (?)*-sama* | 5 id. |
| *prāpty-aprāpti-sama* | 6 id. |
| *upalabdhi-sama* | 7 id. |
| *saṃśaya-sama* | 7 id. |
| *avarṇya-sama* | 7 id. |
| *kārya-sama* | 7 id. |
| ABHŪTA | |
| *prasaṅga* | id. |
| *arthāpatti*, etc. | id., plus : *prati-dṛṣṭānta* |
| VIRUDDHA | |
| *anutpatti-sama* | id. |
| *nitya* | id., plus : *svārtha-viruddha.* |

As I have said before, we do not know anything about the author of this book, or its age; but we may presume that it was anterior to Diṅnāga. It may be also that this *Tarka-śāstra*, or a redaction of it, was existent already in the time of Vātsyāyana. There is in *Nyāya-sūtras*, ii, 2.3, an allusion to some logicians who denied any validity to *arthāpatti*, as being inconclusive. Vātsyāyana, commenting upon this *sūtra*, writes, *asatsu megheṣu vṛṣṭir na bhavatīti satsu bhavatīty etad arthād āpadyate, satsv api caikadā na bhavati seyam arthāpattir apramāṇam iti.* Now we have in the second

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section of the *Tarka-śāstra* referred to the following passage :—
可顯物者。有二種有義至有非義至。義至者若有雨必有雲。若有雲則不定或有雨或無雨, which can be translated into Sanscrit thus :—
*yad abhivyaktaṃ dvi-vidham, arthāpattir anarthāpattiś ca. yadi vṛṣṭir bhavati tadā meghenāpi bhavitavyaṃ, meghe saty api tu kadācid vṛṣṭir bhavati, kadācin na bhavatīty anaikāntikatā.* The correspondence is almost perfect ; so we should be inclined to think that Vātsyāyana and even the final redactor of the *Nyāya-sūtras* knew, if not this same text, then another of those *Tarka-śāstras* which seem to have existed long before Diṅnāga and in which the criticism of *arthāpatti* was already formulated. That we can speak of *Tarka-śāstras* and not of a single *Tarka-śāstra* is proved by two references to them which can be found in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti.* In both cases Diṅnāga uses the plural ; moreover, the second fragment clearly shows a doctrine of the syllogism quite different from that contained in the text translated into Chinese. The first quotation is to be found at the beginning of the third chapter dedicated to the *parārthānumāna* :—

*P.S.V. a*, chap. iii, 44 : *gal . te . rjes . su . dpag . par . bya . ba . ston . pa . ni . dam . bca' . ba . brjod . par . bya . ba . ste . rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnams . su . gžan . gyi . don . rjes . su . dpag . pa . dgoṅ . pa . de . ji . ltar . yin . že . na .*

*P.S.V. b*, 126*b* : *ḫoṅ . te . rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnams . su . gžan . gyi . don . rjes . su . dpag . pa . la . rjes . su. dpag . par . bya . ba . ston . pa . dam . bca' . ba . bkod . pa . gaṅ . yin . pa,* which perhaps corresponds to an original like this :—*yady anumeyābhidhānam pratijñāvacanam iti Tarka-śāstreṣu parārthānumānam.* The other quotation occurs just at the beginning of the fourth chapter, in which Diṅnāga expounds his doctrine of the "example" :—

*P.S.V. a*, chap. iv, 66*b* : *rtog . ge . pai . bstan . bcos . rnams . su . ni . p'yogs . kyi . c'os . ñid . tsam . gtan . ts'igs . kyi . sbyor . ba . yin . no . žes . grags . te . dper . na . ḍi . byas . pai . p'yir . žes . pas . sgra . mi . rtag . par . go . bar . byed .pa . lta . bu'o.*

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*P.S.V. b*, fol. 149*a*: *rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnams . su . sbyor . ba . la . gtan . ts'igs . žes . bya . bas . p'yogs . kyi . c'os . tsam . ñid . bstan . pa . yin . te . dper . na . byas . pai . p'yir . žes . bya . ba . ḍir . sgrai . žes . bya . ba . rtogs . pa . yin . no.*

These two translations do not perfectly agree, but their meaning is clear. According to the *Tarka-śāstras* the indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term in the syllogism is expressed by the *pakṣa-dharma*, and therefore the "example" is not necessary, that is, the middle term as residing in the subject of the inference is sufficient to prove the *probandum*. The theory, which we find elsewhere in the later development of Indian logic, is not accepted by Diṅnāga, who thought the example absolutely necessary to express the other two *lakṣaṇas* of the "reason". The same theory is also referred to and criticized by the Jaina *Nyāyāvatāra*,[1] which calls it the theory of the *antar-vyāpti*. It was certainly not accepted by Vasubandhu, as Vidyābhūṣaṇa thought, but it was at any rate anterior to Diṅnāga, as is sufficiently proved by the above reference, which shows how far logical speculations must have advanced even before the advent of the great Buddhist thinker. This very important development of logical schools in the period between Asaṅga and Diṅnāga, of which we have unfortunately some fragments only, must change our ideas of the authorship of the various theories which we find in the texts handed down to us, and also of the relation between the various authors. We must

[1] *Nyāyāvatāra* 20: *antar-vyāptyaiva sādhyasya siddher bahirudāhṛtiḥ* |
*vyarthā syāt tad a-sad-bhāve 'py evam nyāya-vido viduḥ*

that is, a syllogism like this, "on the hill there is fire, because there is smoke," is perfectly valid, as there is an inner indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term and therefore the example "as in the kitchen" (*bahir-vyāpti*) is not necessary. This theory cannot be attributed to Vasubandhu, as suggested by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 268, n. (and in his edition of the *Nyāyāvatāra*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 17). That Vasubandhu formulated the syllogism in three members is proved by what we already said and by the clear statements of K'uei Chi and Vācaspati Miśra.

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acknowledge that perhaps the treatises which still remain are but a small part of all which was written regarding this subject by some generations of thinkers. The similarity that we can find between this and that author does not imply a mutual borrowing, but can be quite well explained as due to the fact that either writer was following some previous authoritative text or original.

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# Meccan Musical Instruments

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

(PLATES VII–VIII)

AMONG the most interesting exhibits at the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum at Leyden are the Meccan musical instruments presented by the well-known Arabist and traveller, Professor Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. They are displayed, in a special case containing other Meccan objects, in the bureau of the Director, Dr. H. H. Juynboll. These instruments, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me, were not collected by himself personally, but by a Jidda friend who, unfortunately, omitted to supply the requisite data for scientific registering. Even their names are denied us. Yet with the help of the donor, both by conversations and correspondence, and the courtesy of the Director of the Museum, the present writer is able to submit an account of these instruments, which comprise a lute, two viols, three rustic reed-pipes, an oboe, a flute, and a tambourine.

Even Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has not been able to furnish me with many precise details concerning instrumental music among the Meccans, for the simple reason that during his sojourn in the Holy City (1884–5) as a student of the sacred law, he was, naturally, obliged to keep aloof from anything like musical entertainments,[1] for, as Burton says, whilst music may not actually be sinful (*ḥaram*) to a Muslim, it is certainly religiously unpraiseworthy (*makrūh*).[2] There are, however, many references to music and musical

[1] Alī Bey, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca at the beginning of the nineteenth century, said: "I never once heard the sound of a musical instrument or song during the whole of my stay that was executed by a man; but my ears were struck once or twice by the songs of some women" (*Travels of Ali Bey*, ii, 103).

[2] Burton, *Arabian Nights* (Lady Burton's edit.), vi, 59. For music in relation to Islām, see my *History of Arabian Music*, chap. ii.

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instruments in Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* (La Haye, 1888–9, 2 vols. and atlas).

We must bear in mind at the outset that the population of Mecca has long been cosmopolitan, especially since the 'Uthmānlī Turkish conquest in 1517, and this fact helps us to appreciate the following statement made by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje to the present writer: "There is no special Meccan tradition in music or musical instruments. They are imported into Mecca chiefly from Egypt (+ Syria) and Al-Yaman, and the instruments keep their names from their country of origin." [1]

Yet, in the early days of Islām, Mecca was one of the centres of Arabian musical culture, and many of the celebrated *virtuosi* mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* belonged to the Holy City, and among them Ibn Misjaḥ, Ibn Muḥriz, Ibn Suraij, and Yaḥyā al-Makkī, the first being the systematizer of the Arabian musical theory and practice of classical times,[2] and the last being the author of a *Kitāb fī'l-aghānī* [3] which was used by Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in compiling his own work.

## The Lute. 1973/25.

*History.*—The Meccan lute is called the *qabūs*.[4] According to the Turkish writer, Evliyā Chelebī (d. *c.* 1679), the *qapūz* was "invented" by a *vezīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad II (d. 1481).[5] The instrument, however, is described by Ibn Ghaibī in his *Jāmi' al-alḥān fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī*, written in 1418.[6] The former writer refers to a three-stringed lute, whilst the latter deals with a five- (double) stringed instrument, which he terms the *qūpūz rūmī* ("Byzantine *qūpūz*").

[1] Since the Wahhābī conquest, music has probably been proscribed.
[2] *Al-Aghānī*, iii, 84.
[3] *Al-Aghānī*, vi, 17–18.
[4] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 54. Landberg, *Arabica*, iii, 29.
[5] Evliyā Chelebī, *Siyāḥat nāma* (Constantinople edit.), i, 638. *Travels of Evliya Efendi*, i, ii, 235.
[6] Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 77v.

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Of course the Arabs knew of the lute under the name of *mizhar* in pre-Islāmic times.[1] It was, apparently, a skin-bellied instrument, and it was used until the close of the sixth century, when the lute proper, a wooden-bellied instrument, called the *'ūd* (= "wood"), was introduced into Mecca from Al-Ḥīra.[2] Later, the Persian lute (*'ūd fārisī*) was adopted by the Arabs.[3] When the *qabūs* was introduced we have no information. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) and Al-Fayūmī (d. 1333) speak of an instrument called the *mi'zaf*, which they describe as "a sort of a *ṭunbūr* made by the people of Al-Yaman",[4] which, says the author (d. 1790) of the *Tāj al-'arūs*, is the instrument "now called the *qabūs*". The instrument may therefore be traced to pre-Islāmic times,[5] and after.[6]

The word *qabūs* (*qabbūṣ* in 'Uman, and *qanbūṣ* in Ḥaḍramaut) would appear to be Turkish. Landberg, however, suggests an Arabic root in قبص ("to pinch", "to take with the finger-tips"), and equates قبص (= مبص) with نقر ("to strike, play a musical instrument").[7] On the other hand, the persistence of such words as the 'Uthmānlī Turkish *qūpūz* قوپوز, the Uzbeg *qūbūz* قوبوز, or *qāwūz* قاوڤوز,[8] and the Kirghiz *gūbūz* ڤوبوز, is too constant to be ignored. Landberg himself admits, however, that it is not impossible for the instrument to have been introduced by the Turks,[9] seeing that the Ghuzz (from 1104) and the Ayyūbids (1173–1228) held sway in Al-Yaman, whilst the 'Uthmānlī Turks have ruled from 1517 (1512) to 1916. The late Dr. J. P. N. Land

[1] *'Iqd al-farīd* (Cairo edit., 1887–8), ii, 186.
[2] Al-Mas'ūdī. *Prairies d'or*, viii, 94.
[3] *Al-Aghānī*, i, 98.
[4] Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. عزف
[5] *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*. Madrid MS., No. 606, fol. 13–14.
[6] Lane, *Lexicon*, loc. cit.
[7] Landberg, op. cit., 29–30.
[8] Fitrat, اوزبيك قيلاسيقه موسيقاسى, (Tashkent, 1927), p. 43.
[9] Landberg, 30–1.

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argued for the Turkish origin of the word, which is also the opinion of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.[1]

*The Exhibit.*—Total length, 100 cm. Greatest depth, 11 cm. Greatest width, 25 cm. The instrument is made of wood, with the exception of the lower portion of the belly (*wajh*),[2] which is covered with skin to the extent of 33 cm. The face of the neck (*'unq*, *raqaba*) is flat, and runs flush with the belly, there being neither fingerboard or frets (*dasātīn*). Strictly speaking, one can scarcely refer to a neck in this particular case, seeing that the entire instrument, from the nut (*anf*) downwards, constitutes the sound-chest (*kāsa*, *qaṣ'a*), the whole being made in one graduated piece, hollow throughout. Indeed, the three chief sound-holes (*a'yun*, *shamsiyyāt*) are in the face of the neck, the minor sound-holes being at the back. The instrument is beautifully made, being exquisitely carved and decorated in colours.

Unlike the classical lute (*'ūd*),[3] the *qabūs* has no *mushṭ* or bridge-tail-piece. It is mounted with a separate bridge (*ḥāmila*, *faras*), as well as a separate tail-pin (*zubaiba*) to which the strings (*awtār*) are fastened. There are six tuning-pegs (*malāwī*, *'aṣāfīr*), five large and one small, but we have no information concerning the grouping of the strings or the *accordatura* (*taswiya*). The *qanbūṣ* of Ḥaḍramaut, which is practically identical with the Meccan exhibit in shape, possesses seven strings, one of metal and six of gut, the latter being tuned in pairs. In the Ḥaḍramī instrument, the lowest string is of metal, and the *accordatura* is in fourths, like the *'ūd* of classical days. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje mentions the Meccan *qabūs* being used by some pilgrims to Sittanā

[1] Landberg, 114. Indeed, the name given to the musical instruments of the Nabaṭaeans and Jarmaqs by Ibn Khurdādhbih (*d.* 912), might very well refer to *qunbūzāt* (قنبوزات = قندورات), as I have already hinted in my *History of Arabian Music* (p. 6). See also *JRAS.* 1928, 515.

[2] The classical names for the various parts of the lute after Al-Fārābī are given, followed in some instances by the modern Egyptian terms after Villoteau.

[3] Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that the word *'ūd* is not used by the Meccans, except in poetry.

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Maimūna.[1] It is described by him as a four-stringed instrument much like the *kamānja*.[2] The Ḥaḍramī *qanbūṣ* is played with a plectrum (*miḍrab, rīshat al-nasr*) of quill, 15·5 cm. long.

## The Viols. 1973/26 and 27.

*History.*—The earliest viol that we read of as used by the Arabs is the *rabāb*. Legend asserts that it was known to them before and during the time of the Prophet.[3] We know of it definitely as a bowed instrument from the tenth century, when it is described by Al-Fārābī [4] and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.[5] In Arabic, *rabāb* was primarily a generic term for any bowed instrument, in the same way, perhaps, as *kamān* in Persian and *ghizhak* in Turkish, whatever specific types these names may have represented later.

Several distinct types of the viol may be recognized among the Arabs. In Al-Ḥijāz, both the flat-chested type and the long-necked globular-chested type, known in Egypt respectively as the *rabāb al-shā'ir* [6] and *kamānja 'ajūz*,[7] were in common use.[8] The former has ever been a favourite with the *badawī*, as Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) tells us.[9] In the sixteenth century, the *rabāb* was to be found even in the Meccan cafés.[10] The *kamānja 'ajūz* type, such as we have

[1] *Mekka*, ii, 54–5.

[2] The Meccan *qabūs* exhibited is certainly not "much like" the *kamānja 'ajūz* of Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chap. xviii), to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers us. There is, however, a type of *kamānja* to which it could be likened. See Engel, *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, 210.

[3] Evliyā Chelebī, *Travels*, i, ii, 226, 234.

[4] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 77.

[5] Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay edit.), i, 91–2.

[6] And the *rabāb al-mughannī*.

[7] Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte, Étât moderne*, i, 900, 916. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.), 356, 364.

[8] Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1888), i, 264, 289. *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments* (1905 et seq.), ii, 81–2.

[9] Bodleian MS. cit., fol. 78v.

[10] De Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*, i, 159 of text.



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in one of the exhibits (No. 27),[1] is fully described in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century) under the name of *ghishak*,[2] by Ibn Ghaibī under the names of *kamānja* and *ghizhak*, each being a separate type,[3] and by Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrullāh (fifteenth century), a Turkish writer, who calls it the *iqligh*.[4]

Mecca probably took the name (√Pers. *kamāncha*, dim. of *kamān*), as well as the instrument, from Egypt, where we read of it as early as the thirteenth century.[5] Egypt may have borrowed it during the Kurdish ascendancy of the Ayyūbids, as the instrument was considered almost a national instrument with the Kurds.[6]

*The Exhibits.*—The first instrument (No. 26) is an unusual type and quite dissimilar from the *kamānjāt* of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Turkestan,[7] and is probably indigenous. Total length, 78·5 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 8 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 7·5 cm. Length of foot, 5·5 cm. The neck, called the *'amūd* in Egypt, which is cylindrical, and the tuning-peg box are made of one piece of plain wood. The foot is of iron, and is inserted into the lower end of the neck, passing through the sound-chest. The latter is a coco-nut (*jauz hindī*) shell, one-third of which is cut off. Over this cut portion a skin is stretched which serves as the belly, and is fastened to the shell by means of nails. The back of the sound-chest is perforated with innumerable sound-holes. There are four tuning-pegs, and the gut strings (which in the present exhibit are scarcely original) pass over a nut. The bridge exhibited is also not original.

This would appear to be the type of *kamānja* to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers in his *Mekka*, since it is a four-

[1] It actually corresponds in size with the *kamānja farkh* or *kamānja ṣughayyir* of Villoteau.
[2] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 262.
[3] MS. cit., 78–78v.
[4] Lavignac, *Ency. de la Musique*, v, 3012.
[5] Al-Maqrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, i, i, 136.
[6] Berlin MS., We. 1233, fol. 47v.
[7] Bowed instruments are not used in Ḥaḍramaut. Landberg, 25.

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stringed instrument. We have no information concerning its *accordatura*, but the four-stringed *kamānja rūmī*, which is not unlike the European viol, is sometimes tuned—from the lowest to the highest string—A. E. G. d.[1] The bow (*qaus*), which is the same shape, only smaller, as the warrior's bow, is of wood, with horse-hair stretched from end to end. Horizontal length, 65·5 cm. Width of arc, 6·5 cm.

The second instrument (No. 27) is clearly of Egyptian provenance. Total length, 73 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 9·5 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 5·5 cm. Length of foot, 20·5 cm. Its construction, in general principles, is the same as that of the preceding. The sound-chest, which is of coco-nut, is open at the back, where it is cut off. There are two tuning-pegs, and the strings pass over a crude, bulky nut, which, obviously, is not original. The two strings are made of horse-hair, and are attached to a fork or tail-pin, which is distinct from the foot. The bridge is missing.

The instrument is well made, the neck, tuning-pegs, peg box, and scroll are nicely finished in colours of black, yellow, red, and green, the latter also being the colour of the belly skin. We do not know its *accordatura*, but the Egyptian instrument of this type has its strings tuned a fourth apart.[2]

## Reed-pipes. 1973/128, 129, 29.

*History.*—As I have remarked elsewhere,[3] the Arabs called every instrument of the "wood-wind" family a *mizmār*, although the term was also used specifically for a reed-pipe, i.e. a reed-blown pipe. It is highly probable that the early *mizmār* was a simple reed-pipe with a cylindrical tube, played with a single reed. As early as the sixth century the poet Al-Muzarrid tells us of the *mizmār* at a convivial party.[4]

[1] See exhibit 149, *Catalogue . . . du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique de Bruxelles.* Villoteau, *Description*, i, 882. Fétis, *Hist. Mus.*, ii, 141.

[2] The fifteenth century *kamānja* of Ibn Ghaibī was tuned similarly.

[3] *JRAS.* 1929, p. 119.

[4] *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii.

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In the following century, the *mizmār* and *duff* (tambourine) were the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of Al-Ḥijāz.[1] The *mizmār* was used as an accompaniment to the singers of the early Umayyad period.[2] The Prophet Muḥammad so highly esteemed the tones of the instrument that he likened the chanting of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī to "a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) from the reed-pipes of David",[3] although there is a *Ḥadīth* which says that the Prophet stopped his ears when he heard the *mizmār*.[4]

The double reed-pipe is called the *diyānai* (? *dūnai*, "double *nai*") by Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912),[5] whilst Al-Fārābī (d. 950) describes it as the *mizmār al-muzawwaj* ("married *mizmār*"), the *mizmār al-muthannā* ("double *mizmār*"), or the *diyānai*.[6] From the eleventh century, the word *zammāra*, later corrupted to *zummāra*,[7] has been used,[8] although not always perhaps in reference to a *double* reed-pipe. In an Arabic treatise entitled *Al-shajara dhāt akmām al-ḥāwiya uṣūl al-anghām*, the "wood-wind" comprise the *nāy*, *zamr*, and *mauṣūl*.[9] The last-named instrument is mentioned as early as the thirteenth century,[10] and the word means "joined". This leads one to conclude that the *mauṣūl* was also a double reed-pipe.

In modern times, *zummāra* as the name for a double reed-pipe survives in Egypt,[11] and also in Mecca.[12] In North Africa, however, the *zammāra* is described as a "chalumeau ou

[1] *Al-Aghānī*, ii, 172.
[2] *Al-Aghānī*, ii, 121.
[3] *'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 176.
[4] Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii, 521.
[5] *JRAS*. 1928, p. 511.
[6] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 204.
[7] Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico* (13th century), s.v. "*fistula*".
[8] Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century), s.v. "*fistula*".
[9] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 1535. See Villoteau, op. cit., i, 617.
[10] Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire*, i, i, 136. Ibn Ḥajar, Berlin MS., We. 1505, fol. 24. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Safīnat al-mulk*, 471.
[11] Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th Edit.), p. 367.
[12] Snouck Hurgronje. Doughty, *Travels*, ii, 118, refers to a double reed-pipe at Khaibar as a *mizmār*.

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flageolet ",[1] whilst the double reed-pipe is termed the *maqrūn* or *maqrūna*.[2] In Syria and Palestine the latter instrument is called the *mijwiz* (sic).[3]

With the appearance of reed pipes with conical tubes played with a double reed like the Persian *surnāy*, or the Arab *nāy zunāmī* (*zulāmī*), the cylindrical tube instruments were relegated to the folk and mendicant class, with whom they have since remained.

*The Exhibits.*—No. 128. Cylindrical tube of bamboo, 18·2 cm. in length. With the reed inserted, 22·7 cm. in length. There are five finger-holes (*thuqab*) at the following distances from the *manfakh* or place of blowing :—

8 cm.
10·8 ,,
13·1 ,,
15·7 ,,
118·4 ,,

No. 129. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo, with a Vandyke pattern scratched on each. The tubes are fastened together with string. Length of tubes, 20 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 23·7 cm. There are five finger-holes in each tube, at the following approximate [4] distances from the *manfakh* :—

8·7 cm.
11·4 ,,
14·1 ,,
16·8 ,,
19·5 ,,

No. 29. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo fastened together with string and wax. Length of tubes, 23·6 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 26 cm. There are five finger-holes in

[1] Beaussier, *Dict. practique Arabe-Francais.*
[2] Lavignac, *Encyclopédie*, v, 2793. *Revue Africaine*, 1866.
[3] Dalman, *Palästinischer Dīwān*, 25. Cf. *Cat. of the Crosby Brown Collection*, ii, 80, 81.
[4] I say " approximate " because the distances in the two tubes do not strictly correspond.

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each tube, at the following distances approximate from the *manfakh* :—

9·7 cm.
12·5 ,,
15·4 ,,
18·3 ,,
21·1 ,,

The reed with which these instruments are blown is probably the oldest type of vibrating reed known to us. It consists of a hollow piece of cane stopped at one end, a horizontal slit being made in it, penetrating to the interior cavity, so as to make a vibrating tongue.[1] The reed is invariably attached to the tube by means of string so as to prevent loss.[2]

## The Oboe. 1973/28.

*History.*—The Arabs were acquainted with the oboe from an early period. About the beginning of the ninth century, a famous wind-instrumentalist at the Khalifate court, named Zunām, invented or improved an oboe, which was called after him the *nāy zunāmī* or *zunāmī*.[3] The name fell into desuetude in the East, but in the West it continued to be used for many centuries, although corrupted into *zulāmī*.[4] This is probably the instrument which is described by Al-Fārābī (d. 950)[5] and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048)[6] under the titles of *mizmār wāḥid* and *nāy* respectively. It is the *zamr* of the Mamlūk military bands,[7] and the *mizmār* (in Persian *nāy siyāh*) of the *Kanz*

[1] This reed is described and delineated by Villoteau, op. cit., i, 966. Plates (vol. ii), cc, fig. 24.

[2] In the plate one of the reeds of No. 29 has slipped down into the tube of the instrument.

[3] *Tāj al-'arūs.* Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, xvii. Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 56. Schiaparelli, op. cit. Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, ii, 353.

[4] Cf. *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 136, where *zallāma* (*sic*) is considered a metathesis of *zammāra*.

[5] Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 78. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 98.

[6] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236.

[7] Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., i, i, 173.

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*al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century).[1] Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes it as the *zamr siyāh nāy*.[2]

The *surnāy* or *surnā* of the Persians appears to have been a smaller type of oboe. It was a martial instrument with the 'Abbāsid khalifs in the ninth century,[3] and was used similarly by the Fāṭimids in the eleventh century,[4] and by the Mughals in the fourteenth century.[5] At the same time, the terms *zamr* and *surnā* appear to have been interchangeable in many instances. The *surnā* is described by Ibn Ghaibī,[6] and by the author of the *Sharḥ al-adwār*.[7] Under Turkish influence the word has been altered to *zurnā*, and has become interchangeable with *zamr*.[8]

In Spain and North Africa there was a kind of oboe known as the *ghaiṭa*, which we read of as early as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377), who identifies it with the *surnāy* of the Mughals.[9] The name still persists in Spain, Morocco, and Algeria, although in Southern Tunisia it is called the *zammāra*, whilst in Constantine it is the *zurna*.

*The Exhibit.*—This instrument has a conical tube of cherry-wood (*karaz*), with a separate head (*faṣl*) [10] of boxwood (*baqs*), of a combined length of 30 cm., terminating in a bell or pavilion. There are seven finger-holes in the front of the tube and one thumb-hole at the back, the latter being called the *qaul* ("speech").[11] The bell also contains a number of small holes for accoustical purposes.

It is played by means of a double-reed (*qashsha*) which is

[1] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.
[2] MS. cit., fol. 80.
[3] *Al-Aghānī*, xvi, 138.
[4] Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Safar nāma*, 47.
[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 126.
[6] MS. cited, fol. 80.
[7] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v–174.
[8] Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931.
[9] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 126.
[10] I give the modern Egyptian terms for the various parts of the instrument as given by Villoteau. See also Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la Poësie et la Musique Arabes*, pp. 38–9.
[11] Cf. the term "speaker key" in the European clarinet.

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fastened to a brass staple (*laulā*, *laulya*) upon which is mounted a disc called the *ṣadaf*, or *ṣadaf mudawwar*, because it is generally made of shell or bone. The player usually takes the reed completely into his mouth, his lips touching the *ṣadaf*.

The head (*faṣl* or *fāṣila*) is a wooden cylinder 9 cm. long, 7·5 cm. of which is fitted into the upper interior of the tube of the instrument. A portion of this cylinder is cut out on one side, and ordinarily this " cut side " is turned towards the line of the finger-holes of the tube. When, however, the " uncut side " of the cylinder is turned towards the line of the finger-holes, the two upper finger-holes are closed, thereby lowering the pitch of the instrument.

The total length of the instrument, with reed and spindle added, is 33 cm. The exhibit is clearly of Egyptian provenance, and is practically identical with the *zamr*, or *zurnā ṣughayyir*, which is fully described and delineated by Villoteau.[1] The finger-holes are situated at the following distances from the end of the reed :—

5·3 cm.
7·7 ,,
10·4 ,,
13 ,,
15·6 ,,
18·1 ,,
20·8 ,,

## The Flute. 1973/28.

*History.*—Elsewhere I have shown[2] that the pre-Islāmic flute was probably called the *quṣṣāba* (= *qaṣaba*).[3] With the influence of Persia, which brought the word *nāy*, the Arabic name was neglected in the East, and the flute came to be known as the *nāy abyāḍ* (" white *nāy* "), so as to distinguish it from the oboe which was called the *nāy aswād* (" black

[1] Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931, and plates.
[2] *JRAS.* 1929, p. 120.
[3] *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii.

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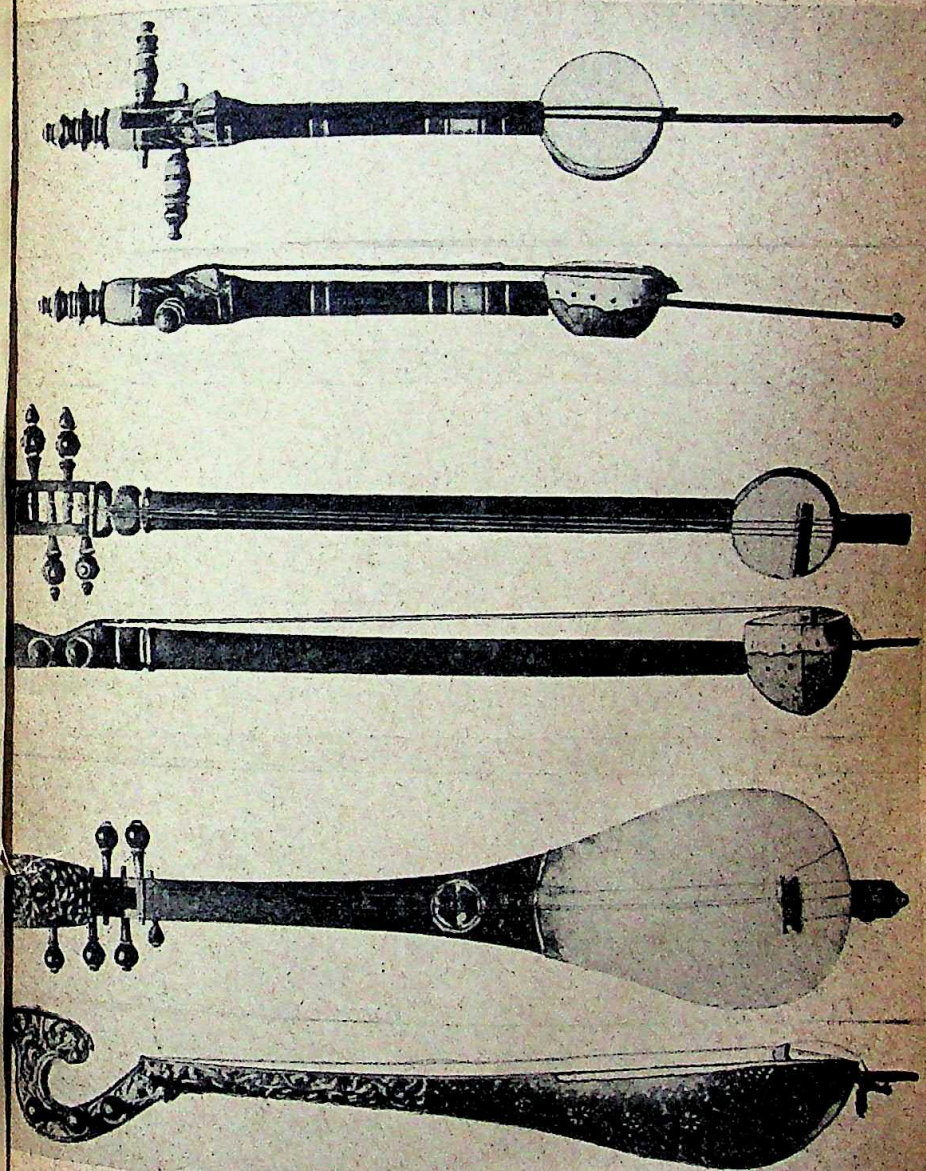

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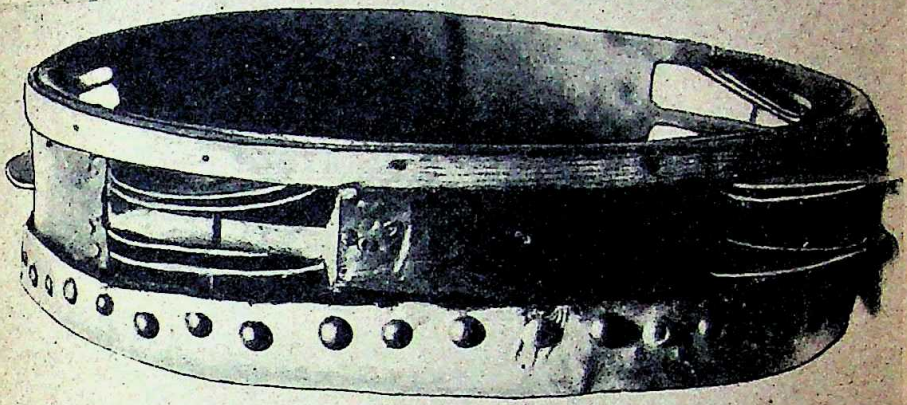

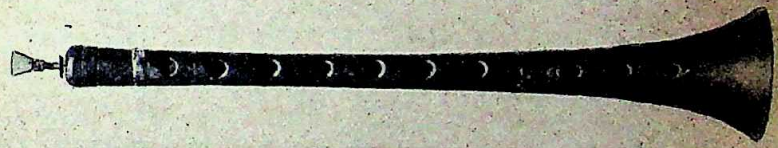

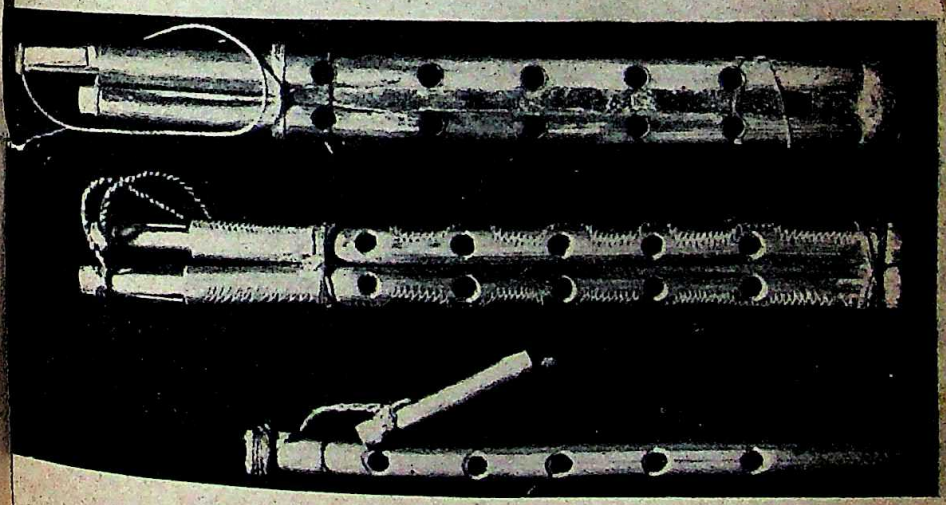

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*nāy* ").[1] In modern times the word *nāy* has stood for flute in Egypt [2] and Syria.[3] Only in the West has the old Arabic name *qaṣaba* persisted.[4]

The small flute or fife has generally been called the *shabbāba* (*shabāb* = " youth "). This is the designation in North-West Africa,[5] although the term *juwāq* is just as frequently used.[6] In Egypt, *shabbāba* often stands for the *flûte à bec*, in common with the term *ṣaffāra* (vulg. *ṣuffāra*).[7] The latter designation, I am informed by a native of Jidda, would properly be the name for the Meccan flute exhibited, because it is made of brass (*ṣufr*). This reminds us that Ibn Sīda (d. 1065) says that the *ṣaffāra* is " a hollow thing in which a boy whistles to pigeons ", to which definition Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) adds that it was made of copper (*naḥās*).[8]

The *nāy* is ignored by Al-Fārābī (d. 950), because he counted the flute among the instruments that were inferior (*ukhur*), whilst the *mizmār* was considered to be among the perfect (*akmāl*) instruments.[9] The flute is described under the name of *nāy abyāḍ* in the *Sharḥ al-adwār* (fourteenth century),[10] and in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century) as the *bīsha*.[11] Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) gives details of the instrument as the *nāy safīd* (" white *nāy* ").[12] All these flutes were made of wood or bamboo.

*The Exhibit.*—This is a vertical flute, played by directing

[1] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.
[2] Villoteau, op. cit., i, 954. Lane, op. cit., 362.
[3] Russell, *Natural History of Aleppo* (2nd ed.), i, 152.
[4] Salvador-Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, 109. Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la Musique arabe*, 31. Delphin et Guin, *La Poësie et la Musique arabes*, 37.
[5] Christianowitsch, 31.
[6] Salvador-Daniel, 116. Delphin et Guin, 45.
[7] Villoteau, i, 951.
[8] *Al-Qāmūs*, s.v. صفر
[9] Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 15.
[10] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.
[11] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.
[12] MS. cit., fol. 79v.

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the wind from the lips sharply across the orifice at the *manfakh* or blowing-place. To effect this the instrument is not held vertically, but with the bottom end slightly inclined to the left side. Unlike the better type of *nāy*, this instrument has no *rās* or head with which to support the lip of the player.

The tube is cylindrical and of brass, its length being 48 cm. It has six finger-holes at the following distances from the *manfakh* :—

21·6 cm.
24·7 ,,
27·7 ,,
32·5 ,,
35·4 ,,
38·7 ,,

THE TAMBOURINE. 1973/35.

*History.*—The generic name for tambourine in Arabic was *duff*. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) says that there were two kinds of *duff*, the rectangular and the round. In the specific sense, however, *duff* stood for the former type, and *dā'ira* for the latter. Some legists placed the former among the forbidden instruments, whilst the latter was made "allowable". Others said that it was only the tambourine with "jingles" that was censured. The *duff* was known in pre-Islāmic times, and was a particular favourite with the women.[1] In the sixteenth century it was used in the Meccan cafés.[2]

The round form was apparently the *ghirbāl*, which had the approval of the Prophet.[3] It had no "jingles", but "snares" were stretched across the inside of the "head".[4] This type, seemingly, was afterwards called the *bandair* or *bandīr*, such as we find nowadays in North-West Africa.[5]

[1] Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 27.
[2] De Sacy, op. cit., i, 159.
[3] *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v.
[4] *Kitāb al-imtā'*, fol. 12v.
[5] Villoteau, i, 988, describes the Egyptian *bandair* with "jingling plates", which properly belong to the *ṭār*.

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The round type possessing jingling plates in the shell was called the *ṭār* or *ṭar*.[1] Early in the twelfth century, we read of it in Al-Yaman,[2] and it is also referred to in the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico*, and in the *Alf laila wa laila*.[3]

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that he never heard the *duff*, the *mazhar*,[4] or the *dā'ira* mentioned in Mecca, but he has shown us in his book that the *ṭār* was quite popular. It was used by the ladies at Shaikh Maḥmūd,[5] and at the festivities at circumcision,[6] on each occasion accompanied by another type of tambourine called the *ṭabla*.

*The Exhibit.*—This *ṭār* is so rudely constructed that we imagine it to be of *badawī* origin. The shell or body, which is made of wood, is 25·5 cm. in diameter, and 6·5 cm. in depth. One side of the shell is covered with a green skin "head" fastened to the shell by means of brass-headed nails. There are four double sets of jingling metal plates inserted in the shell.[7]

Among other Meccan musical instruments mentioned by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his monumental *Mekka* are the *qānūn* and *ṭabla*. The *qānūn* or psaltery is mentioned as being used by some pilgrims to Sittanā Maimūna.[8] The author also informs me that he frequently heard in the Holy City of certain Circassian slave-girls who were adept performers on the instrument. The history of the *qānūn* has been dealt with elsewhere.[9] The modern instrument has been carefully described by Villoteau.[10] If it is of Syrian,

[1] It is written without the ا in North-West Africa. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, writes *tirr*.
[2] Kay, *Yaman*, 54.
[3] Macnaghten edit., i, 165; iv, 172.
[4] The *mazhar* is a round tambourine with jingling rings of metal in the shell instead of jingling plates of metal.
[5] *Mekka*, ii, 61.
[6] *Mekka*, ii, 142.
[7] See Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, 366, for a typical example of an Egyptian *ṭār*, as well as a description of its use.
[8] *Mekka*, ii, 54–5.
[9] *JRAS.* 1926, pp. 239–52.
[10] Villoteau, op. cit., i, 883.

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Egyptian, or Turkish provenance,[1] it is usually mounted with 69, 72, or 75 strings, which are tuned in "threes", giving a diatonic scale of 23, 24, or 25 notes respectively.[2] There is a Turkish specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[3]

The *ṭabla* or long-shelled tambourine,[4] is mentioned as being used by ladies at Shaikh Maḥmūd,[5] and elsewhere. It is identical with the instrument known in other Arabic-speaking countries as the *darabukka*, *darābukka*, *darbūka*, and *dirbakkī*.[6] This type of instrument has been known to the Arabs for centuries. Probably the *kabar* belonged to this class,[7] and perhaps the *dirrīj* or *durraij* also.[8] Doubtless the در بله mentioned in the *Alf laila wa laila* is a copyist's error for *darabukka*,[9] as Burton has assumed.[10] The modern instrument is fully described by Villoteau,[11] Lane,[12] and the

[1] In *La Musique turque* by Raouf Yekta Bey (Lavignac's *Ency. de la Musique*, v, 2845–3064) it is stated that in the course of the eighteenth century the *qānūn* fell into complete desuetude in Turkey, and that under Sulṭān Selīm III (1789–1807), the most flourishing period of Turkish music, not a solitary *qānūn* player's name has been preserved. We are told that the instrument was re-introduced into Constantinople by an Arab of Damascus during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808–39).

At the close of the seventeenth century, Evliyā Chelebī (d. *c.* 1679) mentions both makers and players of the *qānūn* in Constantinople. (*Narrative of Travels*, i, ii, 227, 234.) It is introduced by the Turkish poet Nābī into his *Khairābād*, written in 1705–5. (Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vi, 233.) It is mentioned by Toderini (*Letteratura turchesca*, Venice, 1787, i, 238) among the instruments in use in his day in Turkey. The present writer possesses an eighteenth century engraving by G. Scotin, entitled *Fille Turque jouant du Canon*.

[2] *Cat. . . . du Musée inst. du Conservatoire royal du Musique de Bruxelles*, iii, 342, No. 1901; i, 191, No. 152. *Cat. of the Crosby Brown Collection*, ii, 77, No. 1248.

[3] No. 1032/69.

[4] *Mekka*, ii, 61.

[5] *Mekka*, ii, 142.

[6] Villoteau writes *ḍarābukka*.

[7] See *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 514–15.

[8] Golius, *Lexicon*, 814. Al-Fīrūzābādī (*d.* 1414) likens it to the *ṭunbūr*.

[9] Macnaghten edit., i, 244.

[10] Burton, *Arabian Nights*.

[11] Villoteau, i, 996.

[12] Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, 366–7.

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*Encyclopædia of Islām*, whilst several specimens from Arabia are to be found in the Crosby Brown Collection.[1]

The martial instrument *par excellence* to the Arab is the kettledrum (*ṭabl*, *naqqāra*), and a Muslim has said: "The drum is the music sound of the religion of Islām."[2] Indeed, legend has it that Bābā Sawandīk the Indian played the kettledrum called the *kūs* in the wars of the Prophet,[3] although there is only mention of the tambourine called the *duff* in the older authors.[4] In the tenth century we read of several types of kettledrums, the ordinary mounted kettledrum called the *ṭabl al-markab* (=*naqqāra*, *dabdāb*), and the great kettledrum, called the *kūs*, as well as an instrument with a shallow shell known as the *qaṣa'*.[5] Later, we find a monster kettledrum called the *kūrka*. Burton shows the *badawī* of Al-Ḥijāz pounding his kettledrum "pulpit-like",[6] whilst Lawrence has delightfully portrayed the part played by the instrument in his account of the Amīr Faiṣal's march from Yanbu' to Wajh in January, 1917.[7] In the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, there is a fine copper *naqqāra* about 48 cm. in diameter. It once formed part of the *marātib* (insignia) of the Mahdī.[8] My Jidda friend saw a similar kettledrum in the *ḥasham* (retinue) of the Meccan sharīf in pre-war days.

[1] Nos. 335, 349, 364.
[2] Doughty, ii, 119.
[3] Evliyā Chelebī, i, ii, 226.
[4] See my *Hist. of Arabian Music*, 10.
[5] Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', i, 91. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqa, 30. *Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, vi, 175.
[6] Burton, *Personal Narrative . . .*, iii, 76.
[7] *Revolt in the Desert*, 64 et seq.
[8] Villoteau has fully described the various Egyptian kettledrums.

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# The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region [1]

By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E.

GILGIT offers a rich field to the student of Folklore, and one which up to the present has been only partially worked.

Colonel John Biddulph was first on the scene with his *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, published in 1880, which provided valuable information regarding the beliefs and customs of the people of Gilgit.

Some stray facts can be gathered from the discursive linguistic works of Dr. G. Leitner; and in his last work—*Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893*—he gathered together a mass of miscellaneous material which he describes, somewhat ambitiously perhaps, as "An Account of the History, Religions, Customs, Legends, Fables, and Songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandia (Gabrial), Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Nagyr, and other parts of the Hindu Kush".

Lastly there is Munshi (now Khan Bahadur) Ghulam Muhammad's interesting article: "Festivals and Folk-tales of Gilgit," in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, 1905–7, pp. 93–127.

These are the only important contributions to the subject with which I am acquainted, and it need scarcely be said that they are far from exhausting the field of research.

Chance and the exigencies of the Service took me to Gilgit in 1920, and kept me there till 1924. Unfortunately I am neither a scholar nor a folklorist, so all I can hope to do is to offer some additional information from this somewhat neglected region and leave others to make what use of it they can.

[1] A paper read in part at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1928.

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The matter I have to present came to me largely fortuitously. My own interests lay in matters linguistic, and my immediate object was to obtain knowledge and specimens of the local languages. These languages are, of course, unwritten.

My principal method in such cases has been to get the people to tell me current popular tales and legends, and to give me accounts of local customs and beliefs, and to write them down to their dictation.

The content of my language material may therefore present subject of interest to folklorists, but it has not been collected with the critical knowledge or care of an expert folklorist.

Material thus casually collected is bound to present contradictions, ambiguities, and possibly misunderstandings, when it is not set in the firm frame of a story.

In regard to the terrain with which we are concerned, it is enough to recall that it is situated in the extreme north of India, to the north-west of Kashmir, in one of the loftiest mountain tracts of the world: the meeting point of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram ranges, where peaks and even ranges of 20,000 feet are a commonplace. The physical features are such as to favour isolation, a condition difficult of attainment in a continental country. Access for foreign influences must always have been difficult and restricted.

Even in recent times with the advent of the Pax Britannica, the partial establishment of foreign administration, and the construction of traversable roads, there has been no overwhelming inflow of exogenous influences, only a gradual infiltration. Thus old-standing beliefs and customs have not been subjected to any violent assault by modern disintegrating forces.

Isolation, however, is never more than relative.

In the case of Gilgit, at some unknown time, probably not more than 500 or 600 years ago, Islam gained admittance and sooner or later became the sole recognized religion in the region. Islam is a whole cultural system in itself,

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providing everything from popular tales and domestic ritual upwards, and its effects on the outlook of any uncultured people must be immense.

Again a new period of foreign influence opened in the nineteenth century, first with the incursions of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, resulting in partial occupation and administration, and later, in 1892, by the establishment of British general control in the rest of the country.

There are three principal languages in use in the Gilgit area: Burushaski, Ṣhiṇa and Khowar. Burushaski is the language of the people of Hunza Nagir, and a dialect of it is spoken by the inhabitants of Yasin. Ṣhiṇa is the language of the majority, current, in various dialects, over the greater part of the Gilgit Agency, as well as in Darel and Tangir to the south. It is an Aryan language. Khowar is also of that stock and is the language of Chitral. It is spoken in the western districts of Gilgit, Ghizer, and part of Kuh, and as a secondary language in Yasin.

How far there are to-day any definite ethnical distinctions in the population corresponding to these different languages is an open question. There has certainly been considerable mingling through intermarriage and individual migration, but there are at present insufficient data for solving the ethnological problems of the Gilgit region. When in Gilgit I secured anthropometric measurements of some 600 men from the various districts, and it is possible that if these are ever worked out by some competent anthropologist they may afford grounds for intelligent guessing.

The material of which I am going to make use reached me chiefly through the medium of Ṣhiṇa: that is, it represents the beliefs of the Ṣhiṇ and Yashkun speakers of Ṣhiṇa. To a lesser extent I shall be able to refer to corresponding beliefs existing among the Burushaski speakers of Hunza and Nagir. It is significant that the names of several of the principal Supernatural actors are different in the two languages, for this means that even if the two linguistic communities derive



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from a common racial source these supernatural beings have been long enough in the possession of each to acquire independent existence in its language. This of course probably represents an inversion of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two great sections into which the Ṣhiṇa-speaking population is divided, the socially inferior Yashkuns represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Burushaski-speaking peoples, while the Shins were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yashkuns their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, reinforced by intermarriage which goes on at the present day, and in part to political domination in the past, which in quite recent times amounted to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakht family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented :—

1. By Animate Beings possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.

2. By Qualities or Virtues pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil

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eye, rain-making, cures, and so on, I shall not here attempt to deal.

The first or animate category may be analysed as including :—

1. Beings whose supernatural operations are observable in ordinary daily life—the LIVING SUPERNATURAL. These may be superhuman or non-human beings, or they may be ordinary human beings.

2. Beings whose operations are chiefly found embalmed in folk tales—the "LEGENDARY" or "LITERARY" SUPERNATURAL. These may be regarded as superhuman or non-human.

At the top of the scale of the Superhuman, the GOD of Islam under his Persian name KHUDA appears to have ousted all rivals. Only among the Burushaski-speaking peoples are there traces of more primitive animal spirits, or spirits assuming animal forms, treated as objects of reverence or worship. The name under which their memory has been preserved is Bōyo. This I believe to be the plural of a singular form Bō.in, but I should just mention that this is a point on which doubt is possible.

Among the Ṣhiṇa speakers the principal forms of superhuman being are sometimes referred to collectively in a phrase of association as "Jinn, dē.ū, peri".

Jinn as a foreign (Arabic) word of Islamic origin is given rather a wide and vague application, but Dē.ūs and Peris can be roughly differentiated as demons and fairies.

The term Rāçḥ is generally used of inanimate protective objects, which belong to the impersonal side of magic, but in the form Rāçḥi it possesses also a personal significance.

Çhèçḥ is the name of an important type of apparitional supernatural.

Whether Ghosts, the Spirits of the Dead, are to be reckoned as human or superhuman is a nice question. They are, I suppose, in fact sub-human. They seem to be recognized under the foreign (Arabic) title of Arwāḥ, but to play no very active part in popular belief.

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Yaçḥ and Yaçḥōlo still receive attention in some localities as beings capable of affecting, at least prejudicially, the prosperity of the crops.

Turning now to purely human beings gifted with supernatural powers we find two principal representatives of the class: the Rū.i, a woman displaying some of the powers and proclivities of the western witch, and the Daīyāl, a person of either sex endowed with some of the abilities of the Seer and the Prophet.

There are also the possessors of the Evil Eye, voluntary or involuntary, and there are persons who have acquired powers of magic (çḥíla).

These are the principal Dramatis Personæ of the Living Supernatural, and we may now examine their peculiarities in somewhat greater detail, paying particular attention to the Bōyo, the Çḥèçḥ and the Rū.i, partly because of their peculiarly local character, as signalized by their purely local names, and partly because of their intrinsic importance.

## The Bōyo

From what I have heard I very much fear that the Bōyo are as extinct as the Dodo, though their extinction is of quite recent date. Perhaps they still enjoy a tenuous existence in the phantasies of some elderly minds, but their day of power and awe is gone, their cult is dead, and their worshippers departed.

From the little information I possess it appears that the Bōyo lived in holes at the foot of trees and rocks; and that the cult consisted in placing offerings of food, at any rate of slaughtered animals, at the foot of the trees, i.e. presumably in front of the holes. The Bōyo themselves are described as puppies, or animals like puppies, so this simple form of worship was probably acceptable to them. At any rate they condescended to eat the offerings.

There were Bōyo in residence at a spot on the Dadimo Lat a little above the fort at Hīndi, and the cult was maintained

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there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mīr of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there "in the name of the Bōyo".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Bōyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: "O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālasa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. "If we swear by them," he said, "they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Bōyo.[1]

The Bōyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. "Bōyo-worshipper" (bōyo ū.ilikinas) is now used in the sense of *heathen, pagan.*

There seems to be a special association between the Bōyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Bōyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Ṣḥiṇa by Ṣūbahdār Sulṭān 'Ali of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chaprōt he said: "Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

[1] I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Bōyō as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other, authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indūrgas (pl. bō.in dūrgasho) which was explained as arwāḥ—the spirits of the dead. Dūrg-, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.

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number of puppy-dogs used to come out from below the pine-tree to drink up the blood. Then the people used to return rejoicing to their homes, and they used to say among themselves: 'Thanks be! Sickness has now been banished from the country.'"

Here it is stated that the tree is worshipped, but that the puppies, who are doubtless the Bōyo, benefit by the sacrifice. The Ṣhiṇa word (šilō.iki) translated "worship" means to *appease, placate, propitiate, do reverence to.* It corresponds, I think, exactly to the Burushaski *-īlikinas.

The other story, in which the tree also plays the chief rôle, is briefly as follows: From ancient times there was a juniper-tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbēsh, living in the Dirāmiting territory. It was called the Bōyo Gal ("the Bōyo juniper"). It was said that formerly animals like puppy-dogs used to come out from under it. The people of Hunza used to propitiate them (worship them) and called them Bōyo. One, Bagher Tham, cut the tree down and he promptly died. Two stems grew up again from the stump and a man cut one of them. He became paralyzed and an idiot. A man called Māmad Shāh cut down the remaining bough and he fell down from a cliff and was killed. After this people were afraid to meddle with the tree and left one bough (not previously mentioned) unmolested. Last year and the preceding year (1923 and 1922) this bough was still *in situ.* Then a man Yaqīn, obtained permission from the owner (Keramo Derbēsh) and cut it down and took it to his house. But he had a dream in which a number of women appeared to him and asked him why he had cut down their juniper-tree, and intimidated him. In view of past history he became alarmed and returned the juniper bough to its original owner, Keramo Derbēsh, in whose house it now lies, for no one will venture to burn it.

Here we are left wondering whether there was any connection, other than topographical, between the juniper and the

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Bōyo, and whether the ladies who resented the ill-treatment of the tree were an original dream-invention of Yaqīn's or were personages already known to the public.

This is all the information I can give about the Bōyo. As far as I know they have no counterpart in the present-day beliefs of the Ṣhiṇa-speaking peoples.

We next come to the association of the JINN, DĒ.Ū, PERI. The name Jinn, as already stated, is not an authentic local title, but has been derived from Islamic sources. It is used rather vaguely for all beings of the apparitional order. The popular mind is probably not very clear about the exact nature of all the supernatural phenomena which it encounters, and welcomes a non-committal term carrying all the flavour of high religious sanction. There are many stories in which Jinn appear, and it is probable that the foreign name has brought with it some foreign conceptions and associations. I am inclined to regard them with suspicion, though in the main I believe them to be merely re-christened Ḉhèḉh and perhaps Dē.ūs.

Another foreign (Arabic) term, Balā, seems to be used even more vaguely for evil spirits or demons whose presence you suspect or perceive, but whom you have not yet clearly seen and to whom you cannot put a name.

On the other hand a third foreign (Arabic) name, Shaiṭān, seems to carry with it a more definite personality. Shaiṭān is a leader among malignant and malicious spirits, at least a demon with an individuality, the Devil, Satan. He is probably a foreign intruder. On these foreign or denationalized Devils whose antecedents are somewhat suspect I shall not here spend time.

I may just mention by way of illustration that if after "concocting" magic, a process which takes forty days, you then sit down in the open and draw a line round yourself on the ground, a Jinn will appear and try to frighten you. If you keep up your courage other Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris will come and try to frighten you. Finally if you remain firm

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the King of the Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris himself appears, confesses that he is in your power and enquires your wishes —and so on.

I think it is a pure coincidence that where I have the term Balā it occurs usually in conjunction with horses. A groom and a horse—both later in my service—had a thrilling experience with a Balā which it would take too long to relate here, but the principle involved was elsewhere stated to me as follows: "If one mounts a horse at night and rides anywhere, then if the horse sees a Balā it will refuse to go forward. If at this moment the rider looks over the horse's head between its ears the Balā will be visible to him."

The more frivolous character of the Devil, Shaiṭān, is shown in the following: If in certain circumstances you can snatch the cap off the Devil's head and take refuge in a masjid and avoid his efforts to seize you by the seat of your trousers and go off with them, then if you put on the Devil's cap you will be able to see him, but he will not be able to see you and others will not be able to see either you or him—a piquant if not very useful situation.

If these foreign—Arabic—names could be eliminated, as I confess I should like, I think it would be found that most of the beings rendered innominate, would readily gain admittance to the ranks of the Ṭhèṭh and the Dē.ūs.

## Dē.ū

The name Dē.ū, akin to the Sanskrit *dēva-*, may be regarded as a legitimate Ṣhiṇa word. At any rate, its source need not be sought in Islam or Islamic influence.

Dē.ūs play a prominent part in the folktales of the country as demons, ogres, etc., usually of maleficent proclivities, but they also descend into legendary history. In the latter situation they probably represent a once locally dominant race which has died out or been absorbed. But that is probably only a later identification. Their origin must lie in or before the Folktale period which is presumably much

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earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend.

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demonic possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression *dēwē.i dakhal ṣḥātin*, denoting possession by a Dē.ū.

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)."

It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places." And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chīlègi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this.

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Ṣḥiṇa account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn.

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In a long story the titles Būrum Pfūt and Dī.u Safīd, the "White Dīv", are used indifferently for a beneficent Dīv, but the story itself must be regarded as a foreign importation.

There is, however, another genuine local story in which Pfūtū play a principal part. The narrator explained them as Jinns, but the story must go far back to long before the time when the word jinn was known in the country, and Dē.ū would seem to be a more appropriate rendering. In this story a man had lost his goat and in searching for it he saw a light and came upon a party of Pfūts engaged in revels. He joined in their dancing and in the feasting which followed it. After the feast the Pfūts collected the skin and bones of the animal which they had eaten. The man concealed the rib which had fallen to his share and the Pfūts replaced it by an artificial wooden rib. Then they shook the bones up in the skin and a goat came to life. The man recognized it as his missing property. When he got home he found the goat awaiting him there, and when he slaughtered it he found it had a wooden rib. During this experience he learnt one of the Pfūts' tunes. It is still known and played in Hunza.

One curious point about this story is that the Pfūts were either indifferent to the presence of a human being, or oblivious of it, and there is no clue to their usual attitude towards man.

The Burushaski Dangalaṭas, and, in some aspects, the Bīlas, are probably to be regarded as female Dē.ūs.

## Peri

When we come to the Peris we are on somewhat firmer ground. We know a good deal about their characteristics, and they do still on occasion enter into relations with human beings.

The resemblance of the word "Peri" to "fairy" is of course purely accidental, but there are actually points of similarity between Peris and western fairies, whether or not there is

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any blood relationship. The name is identical with the Persian word represented in Avestan by *pairika* to which there seems to be no recorded parallel in Sanskrit, but it is conceivable that in Ṣḥiṇa it is an original and not a borrowed word.

However this may be, the Peris are quite firmly established under that title in popular belief in Gilgit, Chitrāl, and among the Paṭhans. The word is known in Burushaski, both in foreign stories and as a complimentary epithet for women and boys, but I have come on no Peris in the definitely local stories of Hunza and Nagir.

The Peris of the Ṣḥiṇa-speaking peoples are of both sexes. The female is called a Peri and the male a Periān. They are not spoken of as "little folk", and appear in general to resemble human beings. They eat "pillau", as is attested by Pashūs (anti-witches) and others who have seen them. Their eyes are said to be vertical, that is with the axis set vertically. I fancy they have only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead as is recorded of Jinns and others, but I cannot quote authority for this. They can fly; but if cow-dung is thrown on a Peri, or if its clothes are held in the smoke of a cow-dung fire it becomes unable to move. This point is illustrated in a Burushaski story, which is, however, of foreign origin. I have only one instance of a Peri with a name: a Peri called Mādi is said to live on the mountain of Diāmer (Nanga Parbat).

Peris wear green clothing and consider that they have exclusive rights in that colour. Hence we are told: "If anyone puts on green clothes it is said that the Peris get angry and snatch at the man and crush him. The reason is this: the Peris say: 'Green garments are our clothing. Why have they put them on?' and they become angry."

This claim is supported by their human confidants, the Daĭyāls. As witness: "Daĭyāls say that when a Daĭyāl dances the Peris come flying through the air and remain watching the people. The Daĭyāls say, 'We understand

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what the Peris say. We communicate it in songs to the people.' If the Daĭyāl sees anyone wearing green clothes he gets angry. The reason for this is that the peris wear green clothes, they say, and therefore if any earthly being puts on green clothing the peris become angry and do him injury."

The attitude of the Peris towards ordinary mortals cannot be described as cordial or benevolent. For instance: "They say that if anyone goes to the desert at midday the peris will snatch at his eyes and make him blind."

If a new house proves to be poor or unlucky it may be due to the adverse influence of a Periān. Again: "When a woman, all of whose children have died, gives birth to a child the mother cuts the umbilical cord and licks the blood that comes from it. The reason for this is that over every woman there is a Peri woman. The Peri woman says, 'Now that this woman has drunk the blood of her child she will never do me any good,' and fearing the woman the Peri clears out."

Here the reluctance to relinquish power over a human being indicates how such power is prized. Various methods are employed to obtain it even to the point of stealing or carrying off children or adults. In this we have an important resemblance between the Peris and the fairies of the West. The following notes are relevant in this connection: "A *dernīji mā* (i.e. 'outside mother') is a fairy in the jungle who gives milk to a child and rears it. When the boy grows up he is a good mountaineer." In one known case the peri-fosterling says he only sees his Peri mother when he is alone.

"Ten or more years ago (i.e. counting from 1922) a boy was carried off by the Peris from Nāpur. His clothes were found on the hills but he has never returned again."

One of the grooms of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilās, made the following statement: "Every day (i.e. always) at the (end of the) dark period of the moon the peris carry me off. I see them and they see me. They say to me, 'You stay with us and we'll look after you well. If you don't

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stay we'll throw you down from the mountain.' They thus put me in great fear and then I promise to stay." So far, however, he had apparently successfully evaded either staying or being thrown down from the mountain.

Of the common motif of a man marrying a fairy wife I have only one example, and it does not contain the usual feature of the fairy wife imposing a prohibition on the man which he breaks to his undoing. In the Ṣhiṇa story the parties are more equally matched than usual, for the husband is a Daĭyāl. Still he had the worst of it in the long run.

A Daĭyāl of Herāmosh bewitched a peri and casting a spell on her hair tied it all up in knots. Then he married her and in due course they had a daughter. When the daughter grew up her father instructed her that if her mother ever asked her assistance in dealing with the population of her hair she should give it, but on no account should she undo the knots. One day when the mother and daughter were out with the goats the anticipated situation arose and the girl played her part. The mother then explained that her husband had been angry with her and had tied her hair in knots and she appealed to the girl as her daughter to undo them. In a moment of sympathy and forgetfulness the girl performed the service. Immediately the Peri slew all the goats and flew away carrying her daughter with her. The Daĭyāl, on discovering his treble loss, remained where he was weeping and beating his breast.

I think it was in 1922 that Rājā Sifat Bahādur, Governor of Yasin, married a peri lady, presumably *in absentiâ*, but doubtless with all due ceremony. I believe that to his intimates he claimed to have seen her, but a youth, who was probably an epileptic and certainly a scoundrel, acted as go-between and the Peri's agent in the affair. The Rājā cannot have proved a wholly acceptable husband, as shortly after the wedding he had a fall at polo and broke some ribs. Later, I think, he damaged his knee, and before two years were out he was assassinated in Independent Territory.

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I have recorded instances of human-peri marriages in Chitrāl, but that lies outside our present beat.

### RĀÇḤ

The term rāçḥ, cf. the Sanskrit root *rakṣ-*, "to protect," is usually applied to material objects, which exercise protective powers over human beings. Among such objects are included articles worn as talismans. It is also said, however, that everyone has a guardian spirit in the form of a small girl—Rāçḥe Mulai.i, or Rāçḥi. There may be two of them. These Rāçḥi communicate with the Pashū or Anti-witch when their protégés are in danger.

Again, if a bad woman rides on a horse the horse's Rāçḥi is depressed. Here the Rāçḥi was explained as the *sitāra*, "star" or "fortune", but it is not therefore to be assumed that it is an impersonal abstraction. The conception of a man's "luck" or "fortune" as a living being who is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake is very common.

In a Burushaski story there are three women who are the "Guardians" (rāçḥakūyo) of a king of Irān. They know his fate beforehand and how he can escape it, but are not in direct communication with him. This story, however, is obviously of foreign origin, at least in its existing form, and the guardian women are an integral part of it and could hardly have been introduced as an afterthought.

### ÇḤÈÇḤ

We now pass to a very active and vital group of the Living Supernatural—the Çḥèçḥ. The name is not identifiable as a foreign loan-word and has all the appearance of being good Ṣhiṇa. If I am right in believing the ch's to be cerebral, they would ordinarily correspond to Sanskrit kṣ or tr, but I cannot suggest a derivation.

Çḥèçḥ appear to me to present features of interest and originality, but they may be commonplace to the instructed folklorist. I shall first mention some of the chief characteristics and then illustrate them by specific examples.

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A Çhèçh is a sort of bogle which usually appears at night. It is said to "fall"—*çhèçh dijen*. A sound is sometimes heard and the Çhèçh appears in the form of some animal, such as a horse, donkey, or cow, but sometimes as a human being. Sometimes it appears as a tall figure which reaches up to the sky and is swathed in white clothing—a guise which is also sometimes adopted by Jinns.

When a man sees a Çhèçh he may faint with fear and fall to the ground. If, however, he can manage to preserve his courage and presence of mind and repeat the Call to Prayer (azān) the apparition will disappear. The people then reckon them to be Jinns.

Çhèçh are commonly attached to particular localities, from which it appears they do not wander. There are many such Çhèçh-haunted places in Gilgit proper as well as outside.

A Çhèçh is known to frequent the garden of the Political Agency office. Another haunts the neighbourhood of the P.W.D. Staff Bungalow and has been seen by many people. Its beat extends from there to the Political Agency Office, a distance of a few hundred yards. Another haunts a tree in the garden of the Divisional Engineer's house in the same area. Some deserted houses above the Ranbīr Bāgh are the home of another.

A Çhèçh has been seen by many near the European cemetery. My informant's brother once saw a man wearing black clothes in the cemetery. This apparition pursued him, kicked him, and flung him into an irrigation channel.

Çhèçh, like ghosts, are rather addicted to graveyards. Many other Çhèçh-haunted places could be mentioned.

The following are one or two well-authenticated stories of Çhèçh and their doings. One night Ghulām Muhammad, Chaukidār (night-watchman), was sleeping in pursuance of his duty with his brother in the verandah of the Political Agent's Office in Gilgit. The brother used to give the following account, reported in slightly differing versions, of their experiences: "We were sleeping in the verandah of

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the office. I awoke at midnight and found a horse sitting beside me. It had an English saddle on. I thought it must belong to some visitor and have strayed. So I tied it up to a tree and kept my eye on it. Presently I saw that it had turned into a donkey, and it came and sat down beside my head. My big brother beat it and it went and sat down on the road and turned into a bull. My brother repeated the Call to Prayer and it disappeared."

Sarfarāz, Chaprāsi of the Political Agency Office, told me the following, which is compounded of two slightly differing versions: "There is a lot of earth near the door of our cow-house in Amperi, Gilgit. They say that there were formerly there a mother and six daughters. They are not there now. My father's younger brother says he had seen them himself. About the year 1915–16 one day the (elder) brother was going at night to another quarter. By the path he saw a thin little girl sitting on a big stone. He felt an instinctive fear of her. He said: 'The child came down to the path and caught hold of my hand. I pulled in the direction of my house, and it pulled in the direction of the byre. At last with a great effort I got my hand free and went on to my house. The girl said, "Go now, O man, your luck is great. You have escaped from me, otherwise I should have killed you here." She pointed out to him a spot, a few hundred yards further on and said her beat extended up to there. She said that she had a mother and six (five ?) sisters."

Sarfarāz, continuing, said: "My uncle returning thence to the house lost consciousness. They burned a lot of talismans and gave the Ākhund what he demanded, and my uncle recovered." Owing to this misadventure, however, none of the children of this senior brother survived, and on his death his land came to Sarfarāz. People advised him not to continue to live there, so he built a new house. At midnight a noise of cats is sometimes heard, but no cats are ever seen.

Here is another episode. "They say that a Çhèçh appears

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at the Balbè Gīri on the way to Nōmal. Several times the men who carry the mails have seen it. One time when a zamīndār, Shukur Khān by name, carrying the mail approached the Balbè Gīri, a Balā came out on to the road and would not let him pass. Shukur Khān says: 'I remembered and prayed to God and blew on my body and said the Call to Prayer. Immediately the Balā left the road. I noticed its eye was in the middle of its forehead. I went along the road and it went up to the mulberry-tree at the roadside, and when I looked it disappeared. I spent the night at Nomal and early next morning came in to Gilgit.' Shukur Khān told the above story to his family."

There are other similar stories in which the apparition is called a Jinn, but it seems clear that the Jinn is of the Çhèçh variety. They merely did not happen to be related as instances of çhèçh phenomena.

It is possible that Çhèçh is in fact a sort of abstract term denoting something like "apparition" or, possibly, "fear." The use of the verb "fall" with it suggests such a significance.

## Arwāh

Ghosts, or Spirits of the Dead, whether they rightly belong to the category of the Superhuman or not, may be disposed of here. I have only two notes regarding them, both recorded in English. Çhèçh, I was told, are often associated with graveyards and so also Arwāh (Spirits of the Dead), who are said to come out and hold meetings. At one of these re-unions they were dividing up some food. To one of those present they refused any share on the ground that his relatives on earth gave no offerings of food for the dead. The ghost so penalized repudiated responsibility. He said he had a son living and they should refer to him on the subject. One wonders whether after this the son had a Çhèçh or ghost experience.

I was further told that the Spirits of the Dead come and



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carry you far away and do you injury. They enter into the skins of dead persons and so make their appearance.

Possibly ghosts sometimes figure as Çhèçh or Jinns or are confused with them. There are tales of how people have had dealings with jinns masquerading in the forms of known human beings, but these are rather cases of the impersonation of actual living people.

## Yaçh

The name Yaçh corresponds to the Sanskrit *yakṣa-*. Yaçh are probably to be regarded as a class of Dē.ū who are in some way interested in agriculture. I was given the following statement: "At the time of the removing of the crops (from the fields) the people make *mūl* in a dish and prepare a flavouring of bitter kernels which they add to it. They do this in the name of the Yaçh. They then add ghee to the mūl and eat it. They say 'The Yaçh is eating the Yaçh's mūl.' If they didn't prepare the Yaçh's mūl they say the Yaçh(s) would carry off the grain and not make it prosper." The last word rendered "Yaçh(s)" is peculiar in form and somewhat resembles the word for "bear", but the rendering given is probably correct.[1]

A note is given that the Yaçh will become unconscious if it eats a bitter thing. Hence no doubt the bitter kernels.

The Yaçh, so far as this custom goes, might be regarded as little more than an abstraction, a fertility, or anti-fertility, spirit of some kind, but there is one story told of a very active and practical Yaçh. It was given me as follows: "There is a man of Gurikōt (a place near Astōr) called Rozāli. They say that a Yaçh has formed a friendship with the wife of Rozāli. The Yaçh brings grain and goods from one place and another and collects them in Rozāli's house. They say if Rozāli scolds his wife or beats her some live stock or other in his house dies. For this reason the man does not scold his wife. If anything in the house goes astray or gets lost

[1] Cp. Yaçhōlo, p. 527, n.

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he keeps quiet. The man has children, their appearance they say, is ill-favoured, like that of a Yaçḥ. The Yaçḥ lives in his house and he (Rozāli) is superior, they say, to all the Astōris in wealth. They say that the Yaçḥ is in Rozāli's house in the skin of a cat. They say that his wife's food every seven days is 24 eggs and 2 seers (4 lb.) of ghee. This matter is publicly known to all the people. A number of Astōri people have told us this story." The wife's diet seems rather limited in kind, but bread and vegetables are perhaps taken for granted.

### Yaçḥōlo

The Yaçḥōlo,[1] by his name, must be some sort of cousin of the Yaçḥ, but he is a shadowy personage whose only known interests are agricultural. Here is all the information I have about him: "At the time of the reaping of the wheat and barley, in the name of the Yaçḥōlo they put some mūl (gruel) in a dish and carry it to some place in a field where there is a big stone and where they say the Yaçḥōlo is. The reason is this: they say, 'if we propitiate the Yaçḥōlo our wheat and barley will be plentiful.' Nowadays they do not do this in Gilgit (proper), but in Shināki places, e.g. Bagrōt, at places on both sides of the River (Sherōt, Shakiōt, and Bārgo), and at Herāmosh, in these places they do it."

We may now pass on to the Human Supernatural, of whom the Rū.i and the Daīyāl are the chief. The term Rū.i is Ṣhiṇa. The Burushaski equivalent is Bīlas, but the word has also, I think, wider application. In Khowār the idea is, I believe, covered by the word Gūr.

### Ru.i

The Rū.i is perhaps the most interesting of the whole Gilgit cast, and of her I happen to have particularly full

[1] I have lately come on an isolated note: "Yaçḥōl, a demon like a bear."

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information. I might have devoted the whole of this article to her but decided that it was preferable to cover as wide a field as possible. All I can do in the available space is to mention briefly her chief characteristics and her methods.

Rū.is are witches with a limited repertory. They are ordinary women possessing some specialized tastes and gifted with some extraordinary powers. Their master-taste is an appetite for human flesh which they indulge at the expense of their less gifted neighbours.

Briefly stated, their procedure is as follows : a Rū.i disables and seizes a victim and bears him off, flying through the air to some tryst where the whole Rū.i community is assembled. There they slaughter the victim, after which they chop him up into bits and distribute portions to all present. The company then partake of the feast so furnished and return again to their homes as they came. Meanwhile the victim, whose visible and material body has to all appearance remained at home unaffected, presently falls ill and dies.

A few details may be given regarding the various episodes in this drama. It appears that normally a particular Rū.i is told off by the group to provide a victim for the next assembly. The duty falls on the various members in succession. At the same time one may consider it unlikely that a Rū.i would ever see a favourable opportunity and let it slip. The process of capture is facilitated by her ability to change into any animal form she pleases. Like the Ṭhèçḥ she may do a series of lightning changes. So she may appear as a cat, donkey, magpie, etc., or simply as a woman or as one after another in succession. Rū.is hunt alone or sometimes in couples.

If the intended victim detects the Rū.i and divines her mission, and can keep his head and do her a physical injury, he escapes her clutches and she it is who suffers. She appears at home bearing the injury which she sustained, it may be when in animal form, and unless her victim can be brought to visit her sick-bed she dies. If through ignorance or

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weakness he does come to her, she recovers and he in his turn dies.

When the Rū.i succeeds in her attack she flies off with the victim to the Rū.is' meeting-place. Rū.is fly mounted on boxes or on spinning-wheels. They are debarred from the use of the broomstick, for that is an implement of Western civilization unknown in Gilgit. The victim is carried slung in a sheet. As it is stated that at certain places Rū.is are sometimes *heard* flying through the air, one may conclude that they are not visible when they fly and that they conduct their revels in spiritual, immaterial forms and not in their everyday fleshly bodies. Similarly with the victim, for his bodily presence remains to all appearance safe in his home. What the Rū.i secures is only some spiritualized, but still edible, presentation of him.

A Rū.i in action has to look where she is going and to mind her steps, for if her foot touches water or a graveyard she can proceed no further.

When the victim has been safely conveyed to the place of assembly where all the Rū.is of the district are collected, it simply remains to chop him up and distribute him in fragments to the company. The chopping-up is effected with an adze. Hence, incidentally, the adze has acquired a taste for human flesh and is a dangerous house-mate for a woman at child-birth as it is apt to go and open the door to give admittance to Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is (cp. 517).

No time is wasted on cooking or dressing the flesh, for the Rū.i likes her meat raw. Nor does dancing, so far as my information goes, enter into the order of the day. This is curious in view of the procedure at the Sabbats of the Western Witches and the popularity of dancing on festive occasions in Gilgit at the present day.

I have mentioned physical obstacles which may intervene between the Rū.i and the indulgence of her tastes, but she has other more active interference to reckon with.

There are two kinds of human ANTI-RŪ.I, whose business

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and pleasure it is to come between the Rū.i and her prey. These are gifted with superhuman faculties of perception and with powers of locomotion not inferior to the Rū.i's.

The PASHŪ—the word belongs to the root *pash-*, "to see"—is a "seer", a man or woman who sees what ordinary people cannot see. The Pashū can see not only Rū.is in action but also Dē.ūs and Peris.

By one means or another the Pashū gets to know that someone has been carried off. We have it generally stated that people's guardian spirits—Rāçḥi—inform the Pashū when their protégés are threatened; but in one case a Pashū told me that the Rū.is themselves informed him, when he was asleep, that they were carrying off a victim and invited him to come along: a sporting action on their part, for the Pashū's function is to baulk them of their prey.

The moment the Pashū learns of an abduction he starts off in pursuit. He also flies through the air no less swiftly than the Rū.is, a feat which is all the more remarkable in that he flies in his proper person and not only in an immaterial semblance. When he is absent on a mission of rescue his place at home is empty.

Having come up with the Rū.is at their meeting-place the Pashū demands the surrender of the victim, but if the latter is already dead his labour has been in vain. If the victim is still alive he enters into negotiations with the Rū.is and as a rule succeeds in striking a bargain with them. For a ransom, in the shape it may be of a goat or an ox to be delivered within a certain period, they relinquish their prey.

All then return apparently to their various homes.

The Rū.is are not above making attempts to deceive the Pashū by concealing their victim in the skin of a goat, cow, or other animal.

A practising Pashū, who told me that he was peculiarly successful in rescue work, claimed that in two years he had had 200 successes against 100 failures. He had gone as far afield

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as India. In his flights he was unconscious of mountains or other obstacles, but it is probable that like the Rū.is he must not touch water or a graveyard.

The other Anti-Rū.i is the MITŪ. I am unable to give any explanation of the name. Mitūs appear to be always men. The Mitū is a more ambiguous person than the Pashū. He is professedly an antagonist of the Rū.is, but he seems to slip very easily into the rôle of aider and abettor. Ostensibly his functions and practice are similar to the Pashū's, but he appears to have less authority and less firm moral purpose. When he fails, he yields to pressure or persuasion by the Rū.is and allows himself to be used as a sort of human anvil on which the victim is dismembered, or else he himself chops him up. He still, however, retains some of his original better feelings, for he refuses to accept a share of the victim's flesh.

Some doubt is cast on the Mitū's original good faith by a statement made to me by a Pashū : that the Mitū accompanies the Rū.is carrying an axe with him ; but perhaps this imputation is due to professional jealousy.

I must confess to some doubt as to the use of the Mitū as a chopping-block. It is a curious idea and I have no actual vernacular text to support it, only notes made in English of what I understood at the time was told me.

The Mitū is unconscious when travelling on his errand of mercy, but if his foot touches water he returns to consciousness, is unable to proceed further, and returns home.

Mitūs are found in Nagir and Bagrōt, but there are non in Gilgit proper.

It may perhaps be useful to offer a few more facts about Rū.is. Rū.is are numerous and ubiquitous in the Gilgit area. They are found in Puniāl, Hunza, Nagir, and other districts, as well as in Gilgit proper.

My Pashū friend told me that in Gilgit there were some 300 of them, but this I can only take to be a gross exaggeration. I fancy he was something of a misogynist, for he also

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informed me, with all the seriousness that the statement deserved, that there is a trace of the Rū.i in all women.

All women in fact are potential Rū.is—a truly terrible thought.

Fortunately, in practice Rū.is are products of heredity rather than education. The potential Rū.i does not seem as a rule to pass spontaneously into the practising Rū.i, but if a woman is a Rū.i her daughter will also be a Rū.i.

As regards their external distinguishing features the infallible sign of a Rū.i is that her feet are turned backwards. This must only be when she is functioning as a Rū.i, and even then it is noteworthy that when she is in animal form the animal's feet are not reversed in this way. Rū.is' hair and clothes are said to be repulsive. Their hair stands up on end. Their mouth is red (query—with blood ?) when they have been maltreating anyone and at night they vomit. People then say, " Perhaps she has killed some one to-day."

It is a very remarkable thing that Rū.is and their doings do not seem to arouse any active resentment either in the public or in private individuals. There are many women who are notorious as being practising Rū.is, but they do not appear to be subjected to any form of persecution. I have heard of no case of Rū.i-baiting.

Tests and ordeals, such as ducking, may be unnecessary where the quality of at least the most important Rū.is is known to everyone and is beyond dispute, but then one would expect that they would be dealt with summarily and drastically by the irate relatives of their victims.

The above is a dry summary of the main facts about Rū.is. It would be possible to support it by many actual instances, but that would take too much space. I will, however, quote just a couple of stories which illustrate some of the main points.

The following is the story of a Nagir Rū.i which I recorded in English : " Two young men in Nagir one day wanted water. There was a shortage of water so they went to the head of an

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irrigation channel where it entered a field. The men both saw two cats going along in front of them. The cats kept looking back at them and fire was issuing from their mouths. The elder of the young men threw stones at the cats, on which they both turned and seized him by the leg. Being strong-minded he preserved his senses and did not fall down but beat the two cats with a stick. The two cats then turned into a donkey. The youth, thinking that the donkey was perhaps someone's which had strayed or been left behind, mounted it.

"When they had gone on some distance he dismounted from the donkey and saw that it had turned into a magpie. He threw a stone at it and it turned into two women. With a stone he broke the head and upper jaw of one of the women, and both women vanished. In the morning the young man returned to his home and lapsed into unconsciousness.

"Meanwhile the woman who had been wounded went out on to the roof of her house, fell down from it and broke her head and her jaw, which accounted for the results of her previous misadventure. The people carried her into the house and she not unnaturally developed symptoms of indisposition. She told her people that a certain man had cast the evil eye on her and said that he must be sent for. The man accused was of course the youth who had broken her head when she was playing the Rū.i. They went off and called him, but he refused to come. The woman died. The other woman who had been with her, and the man, are still living."

The following is a statement made to me by the experienced Pashū already referred to: "Four days ago when I was asleep the Rū.is came and informed me by word of mouth: 'We have taken So-and-So, you come.' They then bore off their victim like stones carried by the wind. I said: 'I'll rescue him,' and started off after them. I caught them up at Bāldas, a big boulder in the direction of Herāli. I told them to let him go. The boy's mother was among the Rū.is. She let go the sheet in which he was tied, and I raised it up. The boy was dead. If a victim is freed when still alive all is well,

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but if he dies then his real self at home dies in a day or two. On this occasion there were present many Rū.is from all quarters."

In taking leave of the Rū.is it is, I presume, superfluous to lay stress on their similarity to the witches of the West. Almost every point that has been mentioned above can be duplicated from European records of witches.

## The Daĭyāl.

We now come to the Daĭyăl, the last of the characters whom I propose to treat of here. Daĭyāls are superhumanly endowed human beings, who at the present day chiefly exhibit their powers by furnishing answers to recondite questions. They supply on request information relating to what lies outside the scope of the ordinary senses of sight and hearing, and regarding what is going to come to pass in the future.

Their sources of knowledge are hidden, but there is nothing obscure about their procedure, for they exhibit their powers before all the world in broad daylight.

The public attend on the local polo ground, which corresponds to the village green. At one side sit the local band of drums and pipes and the Daĭyāl enters the circle formed by the spectators. There he primes himself by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper twigs which has some sort of intoxicating effect on him. After this he divides his time between stooping over and listening to the drums, dancing round the circle in various measures and posturing in the middle of it.

At certain points he may be asked questions by members of the general public, the answers to which he ostensibly obtains by listening to the drums or by watching the behaviour of some grains of corn thrown on the vibrating parchment of a drum. His answers are couched in language which is really I think unintelligible, but which someone eventually is always found to interpret.

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An account of a Daĭyāl display has been given by Colonel A. Durand in his " Making of a Frontier ", so I need not elaborate the matter here. It will be enough if I contribute a few more general facts about Daĭyāls themselves.

In Burushaski the equivalent of Daĭyāl is Bītan (plural bitaiyo). Daĭyāls may belong to any class of the population and to either sex. In fact they are nowadays, I believe, confined to a few special families. The chief, perhaps the only seat of Daĭyāls at the present day, is the small side valley of Bagrōt.

I have seen exhibitions by two female Daĭyāls in Hunza, but to the best of my recollection they were said to belong to a family which originally hailed from Bagrōt. Similarly the performer at a specially arranged display at Gilgit Headquarters, in this case a man, had been brought from that place for the occasion.

There is a possibility, however, of fresh recruitment to the ranks of Daĭyāls. " A certain number of people," I was told, " become new Daĭyāls." On the other hand, one may withdraw temporarily or permanently from the faculty.

Daĭyāls possess, or at any rate have in the past possessed, more than the mere powers of second sight and prophecy. They are on more intimate terms with the supernatural world than ordinary folk. In talking of the Peris I have already quoted the statement that the Peris come to watch the Daĭyāls' performances and that they are the source of the Daĭyāls' knowledge ; and again that it is on their account that the Daĭyāl objects to the use of green clothing by the laity.

At an actual performance I was warned that they disliked anything red, and that they were liable to lose self-control and to attack anyone wearing or displaying it. We nervously took stock of our belongings, for the wild-eyed officiating Daĭyāl looked only semi-human and capable of anything whether in his mind or out of it. But why should red be objectionable, except as the complementary colour to green ?

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In the past Daĭyāls have had the power to "bind" superhuman beings, as is shown by the well-known story of the Daĭyāl who bound the Gilgit Yaçḥini. We also have the Daĭyāl of Herāmosh and his Peri wife which I have already recounted (v. p. 521), and the great Hunza Bītan, Shon Gukur, bound the cannibal Bīlas, Dadi, and her seven daughters.

Whether or not present day Daĭyāls can "bind", they can at any rate be "bound" at least with their own consent, when presumably they are inhibited from the use of their special talents. The procedure was described to me, not very lucidly, as follows: "When a Daĭyāl thinks of having himself bound, they twist an iron bracelet and place the Daĭyāl in the hands of a man. Then they breathe on the bracelet and bind the Daĭyāl (with it ?). If the bracelet gets lost then the man again becomes a Daĭyāl."

Once a Daĭyāl, by no means always a Daĭyāl, for apart from having himself bound the Daĭyāl may definitely abandon the career. My Pashū friend told me that his family on the father's side had originally been Daĭyāls, but that his grandfather, under priestly influence had given up being a Daĭyāl and had become a Pashū. My friend's father, however, had wished to continue as a Daĭyāl, but the opposition of the family had been too strong for him, and though he quarrelled with them on the head of it, he too became a Pashū.

I very much fear that Daĭyāls in these evil days, whether of religion or scepticism, are losing credit and esteem, and that this interesting college of soothsayers may presently die out and their valuable gifts be lost to the world.

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# The Text of the *Buddhacarita*

## Cantos IX–XIV, 32

By E. H. JOHNSTON

IN the *Journal* for April, 1927, pp. 209–26, I published some notes on the text of the first eight cantos of the *Buddhacarita* in the light of the old MS. in Nepal and of the Tibetan translation as edited and translated by Dr. Fr. Weller. The second part of the latter work has now appeared, containing the Tibetan text of cantos ix–xvii and the translation of cantos x–xvii, the translation of canto ix, which has gaps in the Sanskrit, being apparently reserved for further consideration. The notes in this part are full and careful and will be found of great help to all interested in the restoration of the Sanskrit text. We have every reason, too, to be grateful to Dr. Weller for undertaking the difficult task of translating the part from xiv, 33, on, for which no Sanskrit text exists, and, though, inevitably, owing to the nature of the Tibetan translation if the Sanskrit text were to be discovered minor details in Dr. Weller's translation would be found to require modification, at least we can now see clearly how Aśvaghoṣa handled the story.

In resuming the notes I proceed in the same manner and with the same abbreviations as in the previous article. I include canto ix in my notes, as owing to its difficulty and the further information given by the MS. it is better to publish my results before Dr. Weller's translation appears.

At this stage it seems to me desirable to discuss the various interpolations in the text. Verses viii, 54; xiii, 73; and xiv, 21 are generally agreed to be spurious, and I have also condemned below as obviously not genuine a verse in the long gap that occurs in canto ix in Cowell's edition. Besides these, most of the following suspicious verses must be interpolations; not one is required in its context and nearly all are definitely below Aśvaghoṣa's standard of writing. Other verses also

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are omitted from the Chinese translation, but that is no more than a ground for suspicion owing to the freedom with which the translator handled the text.

i, 20 (39). The construction is clumsy. The use of the title Tathāgata is very suspicious; except for the spurious verse, i, 81 (86), the Buddha is called "the prince" or some analogous term up to xii, 90 (88), where, having become an ascetic, he is called *muni*; he is also called Bodhisattva at ix, 30, and x, 18. The title *ṛṣi* is not used till canto xiii. The *Saundarananda* follows the same practice. The expression *vigate 'pi rāge* recalls xiii, 31, and this verse was perhaps inserted as a parallel to it. It is the only thoroughly doubtful verse which appears in the Chinese.

i, 81 (86). Not in the Chinese. The use of *muni* is suspicious. Aśvaghoṣa could never have been guilty of so crude a verse.

ii, 15. Not in the Chinese. The comparison with so little known a king as Anaraṇya (see below) is remarkable bathos in face of that with Manu in the next verse. A poor and inappropriate verse.

iii, 65. See my previous article. This verse may have been inserted, just as verse iv, 87, was altered, so as to water down Aśvaghoṣa's references to the Buddha's dealings with women in his youth; in that view the essence of the verse lies in the word *balād*.

iv, 17. The Chinese mentions the names of the seers quoted as illustrations on each side, but not Manthāla's. It is one of the very few names in Aśvaghoṣa of which no trace can be found elsewhere; the story and the name of Jaṅghā seem equally unknown. The verse itself is uncommonly difficult, because even if *bhikṣur* is taken in the sense given to it in my previous article it ought to govern the accusative and otherwise the verse is untranslatable.

iv, 87*cd*. See my previous article.

v, 65. The verse does not appear in Beal and is somewhat doubtful.

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xii, 57 (55). This does not appear in Beal, and *d* is taken from xii, 75 (73). It is not wanted in the context at all.

xiii, 23. See my note below on this verse.

The following notes should also be added to my previous article on the first eight cantos.

i, 42 (47) *d*. Weller, p. 188. *A* has *kṛtavān śaktiḥ*, the virāma under *n* being probably a later addition. The conjecture *kṛtavān na śaktiḥ* is poor as spoiling the play on words.

ii, 15*d*. Read *purānaraṇyasya*, and cf. the closely parallel verse, *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. Gorresio), ii, 119, 10. I now find this reading to have been anticipated by Gawroński (*Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, p. 38) and by Rasivadekar in his commentary to Sovani's edition.

iii, 9*a*. Analogous passages suggest that °*lājaṁ* should be substituted for the feeble °*jālaṁ* in *prakīrṇojjvalapuṣpajālaṁ*. On this view *T*'s otherwise inexplicable *ḥbras-spos* should either be explained as the same as S. C. Das's *ḥbras-so-ba* (= *lāja*), meaning perhaps " perfumed rice ", or be amended to *ḥbras-brṅos* or *-phos* (v. Jäschke under *ḥbo-ba* 2), " parched rice."

iii, 25*d*. This requires further explanation. *T* runs as follows: *bdag-gi* (*ātmanaḥ*) *srid-pa-gzhan* (*punarbhāva*) *ma* (?) *cuṅ-zhig* (*kiṁcit*) *brtags-pa* (*mene*) *ḥdra* (*iva*). *Ma* cannot go with *gzhan*, because, if a negative, it could not follow and *gzhan-ma* could only stand for the feminine of *anya*, *apara*, etc. I took it to be a negative combined with *cuṅ-zhig*, and in view of *T*'s rather casual handling of negatives thought it safe to transfer the negative to *punarbhāvam*, the only place in the sentence where it could be fitted in. But Dr. Weller has pointed out to me that the equivalent in *T* for *apunarbhāvam* should be *srid-pa-gzhan-med*. This is so, but, as his translation, the only possible alternative, requires the reading *ni* for *ma*, *ma* must be a corruption. *A* gives no help in finding the correct reading, as it inserts avagraha only occasionally. To Aśvaghoṣa rebirth could hardly be connected with any feeling of joy and he must, therefore, have intended an

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avagraha to be read by Buddhists, while leaving it open to Hindus to read it without one as a reminder of the epic tag *punarjātam ivātmānaṁ mene* (e.g. *Rām.* (ed. Gorr.) vi, 44, 12; 48, 8; 53, 30), used in different circumstances of cheering up after intense dejection.

v, 55*d*. Subsequent further examination of the old MS. of *S* has satisfied me that the reading in iv, 17, referred to is °*nūpurayoktritābhyāṁ*.

v, 84*a*. *vikaṭapaṅkajā*°, *T*, *vikajapaṅkajā*°, *A*.

viii, 25. This verse is quoted in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 18, with the correct readings *śithilāṁsabāhavaḥ* and *na celur āsur likhitā* but with new corruptions of its own.

viii, 26*c*. *T* read *prokṣitacandanān stanān* or, less probably, took *proṣita* from *pruṣ*, whose causative is not recorded.

## Canto IX

3*a*. *nyāyavat taṁ*, *T*.

4*c*. For *adhīraṁ T* has *nag-por* "black", which is meaningless; amend perhaps to *bdag-por*, which stands for *adhikṛta* in the precisely similar phrase in x, 1, and may represent *adhītaṁ* here, or else read *brnags-par*, "concerned about."

7*c*, 8–11. *rājabha* and gap for a letter, *A*, *rājabhaktyā*, *T*.

8*a*. *mṛjayā*, *A* (Kielhorn, Kern), *T* uncertain. *b*. *vapuṣojjvalantam*, *T*.

10*b* and *d*. *T* divides *Śukrāṅgirasau* correctly into Śukra and Āṅgirasa (i.e. Bṛhaspati).

14*b*. *bhāvinam*, *T*; cf. ii, 33*b*.

17*c*. *kuru mayy apekṣāṁ*, *T* (Böhtlingk), *mapyā* (or *pye*) *pekṣāṁ*, *A*.

19*b*. °*viṣṭabdhabhujair*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn). *d*. *mokṣamārgaḥ*, *T*.

20*d*. *A*'s reading is *yāṅgedruma* or *yāṅgi*°, which might be a corruption of *padmidruma*, but this does not take us much nearer a solution.

21*d*. *vittādhipatyaṁ*, *A*, *T*; cf. *Jātakamālā*, ii, 3.

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24*c*. *T* divides *nātha hīnaṁ*. *d*. *nauḥ*, *T* (Kielhorn).

26*d*. *ka*[*ruṇaṁ rudantīm*], *T*; Aśvaghoṣa uses this epic form in the *Saundarananda* also.

28*b*. *saṁtāpam anta*[*gatam udvahantam*], *T* apparently; *b*4 might be *sa* in *A* as well as *ma*. Read *antargatam*, and cf. *Jātakamālā*, xix, 20.

29*c*. *tvaddarśanā*[*ye*]*cchati*, *T*. *cd*. *dahyamā*[*nam antaḥ*]-*puraṁ*, *T* (Speyer).

31*a*. *tanaye* [*pitṛṇāṁ*], *T*, *tanayaṁ*, *A*.

32*b*, 1–2. *nānte*, *T*, *nāsti*, *A*. *c*. *bhūto 'pi* [*ciraṁ vi*]*yogas*, *T*, *bhūtvā*, *A*.

33*b*. *bhavān āha na* [*tat*], *A*, *T* (Speyer). *d*. *viprayoge*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

34*b*. *vici*[*traṁ jaga*]*taḥ pracāram*, *A*, *T*.

35*a*. *yathādhvagānām iha*, *T*. *d*. *bandhu*[*pratijñātajanair vi*]*hīnaḥ*, *T*.

36*c*. *gacchaty*, *T* (Lüders, Leumann).

37*ab*. *pra*[*vṛttaḥ sarvāsv avasthā*]*su vadhāya*, *T*. *c*. *akālaṁ*, *T* apparently (Cappeller).

38*b*. *tathaivārthavidhau praviṣṭaḥ*, *T* (Cappeller). *A* omits *b*6. *d*. Very difficult. *T* has *dge-legs* (*śreyasi*) *ṅes-par* (*dhruvam* or *niḥ*) *thob-la* (*prāpte*) *dus* (*kālaḥ*) *yod-ma-yin-no* (*nāsti*). Possibly a reading such as *nairvāhake* (? *nairyāṇike* ? *nairvāṇike* ?) *śreyasi nāsti kālaḥ* is indicated; for the sense cf. the Chinese (Beal, 715).

40*d*. *parāpacāreṇa*, *A*, T (Böhtlingk, Gawroński).

41. The large gap in Cowell's text is covered by the whole of leaf 38*a* and the first two lines of 38*b* in *A*. It runs as follows:—

41*c*. *grāhākulaṁ cāmbv iva sāravindaṁ*
*rājyaṁ hi ramyaṁ vyasanāśrayaṁ ca* ||

42. *itthaṁ ca rājyaṁ na sukhaṁ na dharmaḥ*
*pūrve yathā jātaghṛṇā narendrāḥ* |
*vayaḥprakarṣe 'parihāryaduḥkhe*
*rājyāni muktvā vanam eva jagmuḥ* ||



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43. *varaṁ hi bhuktāni tṛṇāny araṇye*
*tosaṁ paraṁ ratnam ivopaguhya* |
*sahoṣitaṁ śrīsulabhair na caiva*
*doṣair adṛśyair iva kṛṣṇasarpaiḥ* ||

44. *ślāghyaṁ hi rājyāni vihāya rājñāṁ*
*dharmābhilāṣeṇa vanaṁ praveṣṭum* |
*bhagnapratijñasya nanūpapannaṁ*
*vanaṁ parityajya gṛhaṁ praveṣṭum* ||

45. *jātaḥ kule ko hi naraḥ sasattvo*
*dharmābhilāṣeṇa vanaṁ praviṣṭaḥ* |
*kāṣāyam utsṛjya vimuktalajjaḥ*
*Purandarasyāpi puraṁ śrayeta* ||

46. *lobhād dhi mohād athavā bhayena*
*yo vāntam annaṁ punar ādadīta* |
*lobhāt sa mohād athavā bhayena*
*saṁtyajya kāmān punar ādadīta* ||

47. *yaś ca pradīptāc charaṇāt kathaṁcin*
*niṣkramya bhūyaḥ praviśet tad eva* |
*gārhasthyam utsṛjya sa dṛṣṭadoṣo*
*mohena bhūyo 'bhilaṣed grahītum* ||

48. *yā ca śrutir mokṣam avāptavanto*
*nṛpā gṛhasthā iti naitad asti* |
*śamapradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣadharmo*
*daṇḍapradhānaḥ kva ca rājadharmaḥ* ||

49. *śame ratiś cec chithilaṁ ca rājyaṁ*
*rājye matiś cec chamaviplavaś ca* |
*samaś ca taikṣṇyaṁ ca hi nopapannaṁ*
*śītoṣṇayor aikyam ivodakāgnyoḥ* ||

50. *tanniścayād vā vasudhādhipās te*
*rājyāni muktvā śamam āptavantaḥ* |
*rājyāṅgitā vā nibhṛtendriyatvād*
*anaiṣṭhike mokṣakṛtābhimānāḥ* ||

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51. *teṣāṁ ca rājye 'stu śamo yathāvat*
*prāpto vanaṁ nāham aniścayena* |
*chittvā hi pāśaṁ gṛhabandhusaṁjñaṁ*
*muktaḥ punar na praviviksur asmi* ||

*A* puts in between verses 47 and 48 and *T* between verses 49 and 50 the following verse, which is not in Beal and is plainly spurious :—

*vahneś ca toyasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ*
*śaṭhasya satyasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ* |
*āryasya pāpasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ*
*śamasya daṇḍasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ* ||

The following points in the above passage are worth noting :

41*c*. I follow *T* ; *A* has *ca sthirasā* (or less probably *mā*) *ravindaṁ*.

42*b*. *tathā*, *A*, *yathā*, *T*.

43. In *A b*3 was originally apparently *ka*, written over to make *va*, *dha* or *ga* ; *b*4 is *rau*. Query *girau* ? I follow *T*.

44*c*. *na tūpapannaṁ*, *T* probably.

46*a*. *A* might and *T* does read *lobhād vimohād*.

50*c*. Text uncertain. *A* has *rājyād mitā vā*, but *ṅga* and *dma* are almost identical in it. For the reading of the text cf. the common epithet, *niraṅgana*, "unblemished." *T* has literally *rājyāny āśritya* or *rājyāśrayād*. Query *rājyānvitā* ? *d*. So *T* ; °*kṛtābhidhānāḥ*, *A*.

I renumber the following verses.

53 (43) *a*. *dharmavidhau tavāyaṁ*, *T* (the Peking edition has *cho-gar*), *mantradharo*, *A* (evidently from the previous line). *c*. *śokāya dattvā*, *A*, *T*.

60 (50) *d*. *gatvā*, *T* apparently (Gawroński).

61 (51) *a*. °*mūrdhnāṁ*, *T*, keeping *kyi* instead of Weller's amendment, *kyis* (Kern).

62 (52). This verse is quoted *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (Ed. Suali), p. 13.

68 (58) *a*. *tava doṣa*°, *T* (Kern).

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70 (60) *a. drumākhyo, T*; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 757). *b. nagaraṁ viveśa, A* apparently (*b*6–8 much rubbed) and *T*. The reference is probably to Dyumatsena king of the Śālvas and the story of Sāvitrī. Query therefore *dyumākhyo*? The *Romantic Legend* (p. 167) translates this verse and gives the name as Druma, king of Vaiśālī!

71 (61) *a. dharmayaśaḥpraviṣṭā, T* apparently. *c. prayātuṁ, A, T*.

72 (62) *b. cakruṣaḥ, T*, agreeing with *mantriṇaḥ* and governing the rest of the *pāda*.

73 (63) *c. śamena ca, T*.

74 (64) *a. saṁśayajaṁ, T, saśataṁ, A*, a syllable short. *b. avyaktaparamparāhatam, T. c. budhaḥ, T* (Gawroński). *d. °deśikaḥ, A, T* (Böhtlingk).

81 (71) *c. durdarśaṁ, T*.

## Canto X

4*b. yas tatra, T. c. sa jagāma dhīraṁ, A* (7–9 much rubbed) and *T* (Gawroński).

6*c. saṁnikarṣe, A, T* (Böhtlingk).

7*d. na* [*ta*]*tarpa dṛṣṭiḥ, A, T*; *d*9 in *A* could also be read as *rmya* or *rmpa*. *Tutoṣa* was never a possible conjecture, as Aśvaghoṣa uses the root *tuṣ* only in the sense of "be pleased", and never in the sense of "have enough of", to express which it must be compounded with *sam*. The phrase as amended is a regular cliché.

8*a. īkṣaṇe, A, T. d. tasyātha babandha, A*; *T* has neither *atha* nor *anu*.

9*a. dṛṣṭvā sorṇa°, T, dṛṣṭā svarṇa°, A*. Read either *dṛṣṭvā ca sorṇa°* or *dṛṣṭvātha*. Weller (p. 92, n. 11) suggests *T* read *sabhrūrṇabhruvaṁ* (for *śubhorṇabhruvam*), but in fact it has *bhrū* once only, not twice.

12*a. manasāgatāstho, T*.

15*a. tasmin girau*, T (Gawroński), *tasmin vanau, A*.

18*a*, 1–3. *tanasma, A* apparently, *tataḥ* only *T*. Read

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*tataḥ sma*, as other verbs in the passage are in the perfect. *d. ivābhrakuñjāt*, *A*.

20*a*. *nyāyavidāṁ variṣṭhaṁ*, *A*, *T*.

22*c*, 6–8. *T*'s *svavayo* is a reference to the legend that the Buddha and Bimbisāra were born on the same day.

26*b*. *A* has *śaśrayā śrīḥ* with *ma* added subsequently above *śa*. *T* is uncertain but in any case did not read *śama*; the Peking edition reads *gaṅ bsdags*.

27*c*. *vyūḍhāny anīkāni*, *T*.

28*d*. *ca bhraṁsam*, *A*, *ca bhramśam*, *T* (Speyer).

29*c*. *copaśamena*, *T* apparently. *d. kāṅkṣito 'rthaḥ*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk). Read *dor-bya* (*tyājya*) for *don-byas* in *T*.

35*d*. *pathā hriyante*, *T* (Gawroński). The form *ḥphrogs-par-byed* should normally indicate in this translation either the causative or the passive of *hṛ* and the latter alone suits here.

41*a*. *magadhapatir* [*vaco*] *babhāṣe*, *T*.

## Canto XI

2*a*. *bhavato vidhānaṁ*, *T*. *De* stands for *etad*, as often, not for *sa* as Weller suggests (p. 99, n. 2).

3*a*. *svakulānuvṛttā*, *T* apparently, "traditional in his family."

6*b*. *T* is equal to *eṣa yo mām prati niścayas te*; add *khalv* at the beginning to complete. For *b*7 *A*, which otherwise is the same as Cowell's MSS., has *ti*, not *vi*.

8*d*, 10–11. *eva*, *A*, *T* (Speyer).

13*b*. *samagrāṁś caturo*, *A*, *T*.

17*c*. *yair nānyakāryā*, *T*, corresponding to the "seeking nothing" of the Chinese (Beal, 849); for compounds with *na* cf., e.g., *Kirātārjunīya*, i, 19 and iii, 8.

18. Weller, p. 101, n. 11. *A* has *bhīsmāt* in *b*, evidently for *Bhīṣmāt*; cf. *S*, vii, 44, where Ugrāyudha is called Janamejaya, both being Pañcāla names in the *MBh*.

19*b*. *saṁyojana* has the Buddhist sense of "fetter" here. *d. ādadīta*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk, Cappeller).

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25. Weller, p. 103, n. 4. Read *khyi*, "dog," for *kyi* instead of amending to *kyis*.

27*a*. *T* translates *abhito* "quickly", a meaning given in the *Amarakośa*. *c*. Weller, p. 103, n. 6. Read *ñe-bar-mtshuṅs* (= *upama*) for *mtshuṅs-ñe-bar*.

28*b*. *T* seems to support Cappeller's *yān*.

29 and 30. *A*, *T* and the Chinese (Beal, 867–8) agree that Cowell's verse 30 should come before his verse 29.

29 (30) *a*. *tīvraiḥ*, *T* (Lüders), *tīvvaiḥ*, *A*.

31*c*. *sūnāsikāṣṭha*°, *A*, which Dr. Weller has kindly informed me is also the reading of the Chinese. This recalls *asisūnā* found in the corresponding passage in *Aṅg. Nik.*, iii, 97. *T*'s "corpse-burning wood" has a parallel in *S*, ix, 20, where the Kurus are spoken of as reduced to ashes, and may indicate a reading *śūnāśikāṣṭha*° with *śūna* equal to *śava*. Curiously enough, there is a similar confusion in an exactly analogous passage in the *Lalitavistara*, where Lefmann (ch. xv, p. 207, l. 9–10) reads *iha te bālā parikrūḍyante sūnākāṣṭheṣv ivorabhrāḥ*; *parikrūḍyante* here is presumably a misprint for *parikūḍyante*, but according to Foucaux's translation the Tibetan read *parikuṭyante*. R. L. Mitra's text of the passage is different and corrupt, making no sense.

33*a*. 1–7 is taken in *A* by mistake from 34*a*, 1–7; *a*8 is *pā*. Dr. Weller's reconstruction of the Sanskrit seems to me sound. *b*. *kravyatsu cātmānam*, *A*, *T*.

34*d*. *kāmārtham ajñaḥ*, *A*, *T*. *d*. *mṛtyu*[*ṁ*] *śramaṁ cārcchati jīvalokaḥ*, *A*, *T*.

36*a*. *mataḥ*, *A*, *matiḥ*, *T* apparently. *b*. *bhogā*, *A*, *T*. It looks as if *T* read *bhogā tu kecit parivartyamānāḥ* ("falsely represented as"); query *parikalpyamānāḥ*?

39*b*. *bhogāḥ*, *A*, *T*. *c*. *annāni bhogā iti*, *T* apparently (Gawroński).

44*a*. *dṛṣṭvā vimiśrāṁ*, *T*.

45*a*. *yat syān*, *A* for *yasmān*, meaning "should it be argued that"; *T* seems to read *'bhyadhikāsti yasmān*, which is not so good.

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48*a*. *rājño 'pi vāso yugam*, *T*, evidently for *vāsoyugam* (Böhtlingk).

50*a*. *tan nāsmi*, *A*, *T* (Lüders, Cappeller). *b*. *ksema*[*ṁ*], *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk). *d*. *pālayeti*, *A* (corrected from *pālayanti*), *T* (Speyer).

53*b*. *cāḍhyaḥ*, *A*, *T*.

54*a*. *bhaikṣopabhogīti ca*, *T*, *bhaiṣopabhogīti ca* (or *ra*), *A*.

55*d*. *duḥkhaiḥ*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk, Windisch).

57*a*. *T*'s *saṁsāraśareṇa* is confirmed by the *gāthā*, *Romantic Legend*, p. 183. *b*. *śāntim*, *A* (Speyer).

58*c*. *ity eva mamārtha*°, *A*, *ity evaṁ mamātra*, *T*. Read *ity eva mamātra*.

59*a*. 11–12, *rur*, *A* omitting a syllable, *na bhīr na ruṅ*, *T*. *b*. *cādhayah*, *A*.

61*a*. *yadāntako*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn). *b*. *sarveṣv avaśaṁ*, *T*, *sarveṣu vasaṁ* (for *vaśaṁ*, Kielhorn), *A*.

64*a*. *cādīptaphalāṁ*, *A*, *vāpīṣṭaphalāṁ*, *T*. Read *cāpīṣṭa*°.

65*d*. *kimu yat kṣayātmakam*, *A* (Windisch), *kimu yat kṛpātmakam*, *T*.

69*d*. *kṣamethā mama tattva*°, *A*, *T* (Speyer).

71*a*. °*sambhavāntare*, *A*, *T*. *c*. *himāriśatrukṣayaśatrughātinas*, *A*, °*ghātane*, *T* apparently. *d*. *vimokṣayan*, *T* probably (Cappeller).

In *a* the enemy of cold is fire, the sign of fire is smoke, from smoke are produced clouds and from clouds rain. As none of the ordinary meanings of *dvija* make sense, I conjecture it means "fire", a reference to the Vedic epithet *dvijanman* of Agni. As *c* must be a single word in the locative case to correspond to *a*, I accept *T*'s reading. The enemy of cold is the sun, the enemy of the sun is *tamas*, which is then used as a moral quality. I take the verse to mean, therefore, "Just as fire obtains liberation for its body (i.e. is extinguished) by means of rain, so do you similarly obtain liberation for your mind by means of overcoming whatever is opposed to the destruction of *tamas*."

72*b*. *āpnotu*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk). *c*. The last word in *T*

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according to both the India Office and the Peking editions is *ḥdir*, not *ḥdod*, i.e. *iha* (? or *ito*) for *imāṁ*.

73*c*. *tam udīkṣya*, *T*. *d*. *nṛpo 'pi vavrā*[*ja*] *puriṁ girivrajam*, *A*, *T*.

## Canto XII

4*a*. Weller, p. 112, n. 5. As *bzhugs* = *āsīna* in xiii, 50, I do not see why it should not do so here.

9*c*. *jñānaplavam*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn).

10*b*. *varṇyate*, *A*, *vartate*, *T*.

11*b*. *nararṣabhaḥ*, *A*, *nararṣiḥ* (a syllable short), *T*.

13*c*. *tvaddarśana*[*m a*]*haṁ*, *A*, *T* (Gawroński).

16*d*. *yathaiva ca nivartate*, *T* apparently.

19*a*. *iti budhyasva*, *A*, *T*.

21*c*. *pratibuddhas tu*, *A*, °*buddhaś ca*, *T* apparently.

23*c*. *tritaye jantus*, *T*, *yantus*, *A* apparently but much rubbed. *d*. *nātivartate*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

27*a*. *bhāvān asaṁdigdhān*, *T*, *bhāvan asaṁ*°, *A*.

28*c*. *yaś caiveśaganaḥ*, *A* (for *yaś caivaiṣa* ?).

31*b*. *manovāgbuddhikarmabhiḥ*, *A*, *T*.

33*ab*. Text uncertain. *A* has *vidvān sa pañcaparvān* and *T viduṣaḥ*, *viduṣā*, or *vidvān* (omitting the *sa*) and possibly *pratīyate* for the verb. Taking *pratīyate* as 3rd pl. A., I would read *ity avidyāṁ hi vidvāṁsaḥ pañcaparvāṁ pratīyate*. Vācaspati Miśra on *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, 47, attributes this saying to Vārṣagaṇya, who is dated much later in R. Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya-Philosophie* (2nd ed.), p. 73 ff.

34*d*. *ity eva gamyatām*, *A*.

37*d*. *abhinipātyate*, *T* probably ; this is a sound restoration of *A*'s *abhiniṣicyate* palaeographically.

39*b*. *janmasrotaḥ*, *T*, *jamasrotaḥ*, *A*, which both here and in xiii, 7 (see below) combines *n* and *ja* into a single letter resembling *kta*.

51*d*. *paritoṣeṇa vāsitaḥ*, *T* apparently.

53*d*. *ābhāsvareṣu saḥ*, *A*, *T*.

Cowell's verse 55 comes after his verse 57 in *A* and *T*. It is probably an interpolation.

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56 (57) *b*. *yo na rajyaty upekṣate*, *A*, *yo na rajyaty upekṣakaḥ*, *T* probably. For *upekṣaka* cf. *S*, xvii, 50, and *Lalitavistara*, ch. xi, p. 129, l. 6 ff.

58*c*. *A*'s *bṛhatphalam* is unmetrical and *T*'s *bṛhatkāle*, which is vouched for by the Chinese (Beal, 971), should be accepted.

62*a*. *ākāśagataṁ*, *T* and probably *A*. *c*. *tad evā*°, *A*, *T* (Cappeller).

63*a*. °*kuśalas tv anyo*, *T* apparently, °*kuśala sv* corrected to °*kuśala tv*, *A*.

67*a*. *Jaigīṣavyo 'tha*, *A* apparently.

68*d*. *uvāca ha*, *A* and probably *T* (Gawroński).

71. Cowell's MSS. omitted four lines here owing to two lines ending in *kalpyate*. Verses 71–3 run as follows, the subsequent verses being renumbered :—

71. *viśuddho yadyapi hy ātmā nirmukta iti kalpyate* |
*bhūyaḥ pratyayasadbhāvād amuktaḥ sa bhaviṣyati* ||

72. *ṛtubhūmyambuviharād yathā bījaṁ na rohati* |
*rohati pratyayais tais tais tadvat so 'pi mato mama* ||

73. *yat karmājñānatṛṣṇānāṁ tyāgān mokṣaś ca kalpyate* |
*atyantas tatparityāgaḥ saty ātmani na vidyate* ||

In 73*a* *A* has *ṣatkarmā*°, I follow *T*.

79 (77) *c*. *tasmād*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

87 (85) *c*. *sūkṣmā paṭvī*, *T*, *sūkṣmā 'padvī*, *A*. Read *sūkṣmāpaṭvī* ; cf. *Atthasālinī*, pp. 207–9.

90 (88) *d*. *vihārābhiratir*, *A*, *T*.

*T* and the Chinese show that *A* and Cowell's edition omit a verse after 90 (88) ; *pādas b*, *c* and *d* ran probably as follows :—

. . . *pañcendriyavaśoddhatān* |
*tapaḥprasaktān vratino bhikṣūn pañca niraikṣata* ||

In *c* *T* reads *tamaḥ*, and I have corrected it from the Chinese (Beal, 1000–1). The first *pāda* is uncertain, but might run *āśritān atha tatpūrvaṁ*. I renumber the following verses accordingly.

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92 (89) *a.* *te copa°*, *T*.

95 (92) *c.* *T*'s *karmaprepsur* is unmetrical; the obvious emendation of *A*'s *kamaprepsur* is *śamaprepsur*.

96 (93) *c.* *anantapāra°*, *T* apparently.

98 (95) *b.* *'nyacakṣuṣām*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

107 (104) *c.* *āhārakaraṇe*, *T* (Böhtlingk) and *A* originally (altered apparently to *āsura°*).

113 (110) *a.* *°mūrtiś ca*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk).

117 (114) *d.* *padam eva bhakṣyase*, *T*.

121 (118) *d.* *niścitātmani*, *A*, *T*.

## Canto XIII

1*a*. 1–6, *tasmāya*, *A*, *tasmin vimokṣāya*, *T*.

3*d*. *vaco 'bhyuvāca*, *T*, *vaco bhyuthāṣa*, *A* (possibly meant to be *°vāca*).

5*d*. The reference surely is to Karālajanaka; cf. iv, 80, and *Kauṭ. Arthaśāstra*, i, 6.

6*d*. *ivātivṛddhaḥ*, *A*, *T*.

7*b*. *śarān jaganmohakarāṁś ca*, *A* (v. note on xii, 39 above); *T* uncertain.

8*a*. *ātmasaṁsthaṁ*, *A*, *āsanasthaṁ*, *T*.

9*b*. *cara svadharmaṁ*, *A* (Lüders). *c*4–6. Hiatus in *A*, *yajñaiś ca*, *T*.

11*a*. *niścitātman*, *A* and probably *T*. Weller, p. 127, n. 11, the Peking edition reads correctly *mi-ldaṅ*, not *med ldaṅ* (*ldan* in Weller's text is a misprint for *ldaṅ*). *d*. *sūrbake*, *T*; the correct form seems to be Śūrpaka which occurs in *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* (Government Press, Madras, 1921), vi, 23, and is quoted by the *PW*. from Halāyudha and Hemacandra.

13*c*. *priyāvidheyeṣu*, *A* (Gawroński).

17*c*. *bhūtagaṇair asaumyaiḥ*, *T* and apparently *A* (whose reading might also be the nonsensical *asyaimyaiḥ*).

18*b*. *vighnaṁ same* (for *śame* ?), *A*, *T*. *d*. *valadruma°*, *A*, *śala°* or *śūla°*, *T*.

19*d*. *pṛthūdarāś ca*, *T* apparently, or else *cāpy akṛśodarāś ca*.

20*a*. *ajāmusakthā*, *A*, *ājānusakthā*, *T*. Read *ajānusakthā* (Lüders, Kern).

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21*a*. *bhasmāruṇā*, *T*; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 1066–7).

Verses 21, 22 and 24 contain a malicious description of Māra's host in the guise of Hindu ascetics. Verse 23, which the Chinese omits, does not fit in here and is most probably spurious.

24*a*. *śikhino 'tha muṇḍā*, *T* apparently; v. under *byi* in S. C. Das.

26*c*. *nanarda*, *A*, *T* (Gawroński).

27*d*. *pratipālayantaḥ*, *T* apparently.

30*a*. *dharmadharāś ca*, *T*.

33*a*. *upaplavaṁ dharmavi*[*dhe*]*s tu*, *A*, *T*.

34*a*. *T*'s *draṅ-po* corresponding to *udīrṇāṁ* is surely a mistake for *drag-po*.

35*b*. *tīkṣṇāgradaṁṣṭrā*, *T*.

36*d*. *krīḍatsu*°, *A* and probably *T* (Böhtlingk).

40*c*. *tan mukta*°, *T*. *d*. *paphāla*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

44*a*. *vijagarur*, *T*, for *nirjagarur* (Böhtlingk) or *vyujjagarur*? *d*. *notsasṛpur*, *T* (Kern).

46*c*. *dhūyamāno*, *A* and apparently *T* (Böhtlingk).

47*b*. *viyaty* (Lüders, Speyer) or *nabhasy* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk) *T*.

50*c*. *nāsīnam ṛṣiṁ*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk, Finot).

55*d*. *śaśāra*, *T* probably (Kern).

56*b*. *viśiṣṭabhūtaṁ*, *A*, *T*.

58*c*. Weller, p. 134, n. 4; both the India Office and the Peking editions have *bsgrub-pa-ḥi* which is evidently correct and corresponds to the Sanskrit.

60*c*. *kiṁcana nāsty asādhyaṁ*, *T* and possibly *A* (Speyer).

63*a*. *mahāndhakāre*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

68*d*. *vegaṁ samādher viṣaheta yo 'sya*, *T*. *A* reads *veśaṁ* and omitting *d*8–9 has *yo sya* followed by a gap for two letters.

71*d*. For *hatāśrayā* *T* has *gtso-bo bsad-pa*, "when its leader is slain." This is certainly the correct sense (cf. Beal, 1108), and the idea is a common one, e.g. *Jātakamālā*, p. 133, l. 13, *hatapravīrā iva sainikā*; in preference to amending to, say, *hatāgriyā*, I would take *āśraya* in the sense of "leader" here, a not impossible extension of meaning.

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## Canto XIV

7*c*. *lebhe paraṁ caksuḥ*, *A*.

16*b*. *baddhabāhavaḥ*, *A*, *T*. *c*. *A* has *duḥkhe nipipa*, then a tear of the size of two letters; originally one syllable short, it is now three. *duhkhe 'pi na vipacyante*, *T*, reading *smin* with the Peking edition.

23*c*. *A* omits *c*6 and leaves a gap; *kṛpaṇaṁ*, *T* apparently.

27*d*. *prāpya caivetaretaraiḥ*, *T* apparently, *prāpya revaitaretaraiḥ*, *A*.

*A* and *T*, like Cowell, have verses 30 and 31 in the wrong order as the sense and the Chinese (Beal, 1131–3) show.

30 (31) *a*. *samatikrāntā*, *A*, *T*.

32*a*. *narakap*[*r*]*akhye*, *A*, *T*.

*October*, 1928.

*P.S.*—I should like to add the following notes, repairing omissions:—

ii, 36*a*. *bhaṁ bhāsuraṁ*, *A*, which according to *T*'s *skar-ma-rgyal* seems to refer to the asterism Puṣya (v. S. C. Das s. *rgyal* I), but Weller's Bṛhaspati agrees better with the following *āṅgirasādhidevaṁ*.

ix, 10. In view of a remark on p. 352 of the *Journal* for April last, I should explain that in the *MBh.* and works on *nīti* Śukra and Bṛhaspati are regularly joined as a pair in their characters of the two divine gurus and of being the supposed authors of the two original rājaśāstras.

xi, 70. *Ava* should have nine different meanings in this verse. Following the indications in *Dhātupāṭha*, i, 631, and Böhtlingk and Schmidt's dictionaries, I suggest very tentatively the following translation:—"Be happy, O king, like Indra in heaven, shine ever with your virtues like the sun, understand the highest good, be satisfied in this world, rule the earth, make your life flourish by association with the noble, favour the sons of the good, obtain sovereign powers, observe your dharma."

*May*, 1929.

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# The Return of Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR.

PROFESSOR LANGDON has pointed out to me that the Assyrian text published in Ebeling, *KAR.*, No. 360, bears a close resemblance, alike in diction and in subject-matter, to Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin*, Taff. xxxvii f., edited in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii, 264–8, and it is almost certain that we have here two different but related accounts of the return of the god Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin, in 668 B.C. In the following interpretation of *KAR.* 360, I am again very greatly indebted to Professor Langdon.

## *KAR.* 360 (VAT. 10060)

1. . . . . .

2. *amēlu zammērē ina iṣu (?) Z[AG (?)-SAL ina (?) bît (?) ridû-ti bêlam . .]* [1]

The singers on the harp (?) in the "house of succession" (glorify (?)) the lord.

3. *irāti* [2] *ṭâbāti uš-tam-li(?)-lá* [3] . . . . .

Sweet "songs of the breast" they play . . . . .

4. *amēlu kalē ina iṣu ilu Zi-i* [4] *i(?)-ḫal-la-[lu]* [5] . . .

The psalmists dance to the instrument of the Zu-bird . . .

5. *ḳar-ra-du-ti-šu uš-ta-na-ṣu-ú* [6] . .

His valour they extol.

6. *ḫarrāna rikis mātāti ašar mar-kăs kib-ra-[a-ti]*

The road, the bond of the lands, where is the uniting principle of the regions,

7. *ṣa-bit-ma ki-šad* $^{nâr}$*Pu-ra-na-ti ḫi-i-šá*

he has taken; on the shore of the Euphrates a *ḫišu*-boat

8. *ir-kab-ma* $^{nâr}$*Má-bàn-da-ǵe-dú* [7] *ru-ku-ub-šu el-lu ša ki-i šu-me-šù as-mu*

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he has mounted. On the river of the Little Boat of the *ḫedu*, his holy vehicle, which like his name is seemly,

9. *ú-še-li it-ti-šu* $^{ilat}$*bêlēti ni-ba-a-ti ša pal-ḫiš za-'i-na lit-bu-šá* <*šá*>*-ru-ri.*[8]

he causes to sail upstream with himself. The goddesses, radiant, fearfully adorned (and) clothed in brightness,

10. *na-bi* $^{ilu}$*Šam-ši ša ḫi-it-bu-ṣu* $^{ilu}$*Nannaru ša šur-ba-ta ilu-ú-su*

glorious Shamash who rejoices, Nannar whose divinity is extolled,

11. *ša* $^{nâr}$*A-ra-aḫ-ti be-rat nuḫši i-ta-ti-šá* [9] *gu-um-mur-ma*

which [10] puts to the test the Arahtu-canal, the luxury of whose surroundings is complete,

12. *i-šad-di-ḫa a-na ma-ḫi-ir-ti*

(all these) go in procession to meet (him).

13. *i-te-ḫa-a a-na ka-ri a-ri bâb sa(mê)-me ina abulli ilu Ú-ra-aš iš-ta-kān-nu šub (?)-tam*

They approach the quay, Ari of the Red Gate; in the gate Urash [11] they take up their place.

14. *li-i pu-ul-lu-ku az-li ṭu-ub-bu-ḫu ar-ma-nu (?)*

Oxen are slain, lambs are butchered, sacred pomegranate-wood

15. *ḳud-du-šu šur-ru-uḳ-ḳu ki-suk-ki*

is scattered about; the *kisukku*

16. *ma-lu-ú ḳut-rin-ni i-riš za-'a ṭa-a-bi*

full of incense, emitting a sweet fragrance,

17. *ki-ma im-ba-ri kab-ti sa-ḫi-ip šá-ma-mu*

like a great storm overwhelms the skies.

18. *šuk-ḳu-ú . . . a(?)-na išten-bēri-TA-ÁM*

(Beacons (?)) are raised aloft (?), at each double-hour's march [12]

19. *šá(?)-ḳa- . . . . [na-mir-tū] šak-na-at* [13]

. . . . . brightness is created.

20. . *ka(?)-ma . . . . . -kap šá ap-si-i*

. . . . . of the deep (?)

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21. . . . . *up-pu-šù-un*
. . . . . .
22. . . . *šá a* . . . . . *ú* (?)-*šá-nu-nu ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru*
. . . . . the earth.

[1] Restored from Streck, 264, 4, but the reading there is uncertain. Lehmann's text has $^{iṣu}$*ZAG*-[*SAL*] (*SAI.* 4670) for which the Accadian equivalent is still unknown. *ZAG.SAL* (*SAI.* 4669) = *tanittu* "praise", cf. Langdon, *PBS.* x, pp. 103 ff. In I Raw. 45, Col. I, 52, the $^{amēlu}$*zammērē* are associated with the $^{iṣu}$*ZAG.SAL*, as here. For the explanation of *bît ridûti*, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, iii, 568 f. [2] *irāti* is the title of a kind of song, cf. Langdon, *JRAS.* 1921, 183, note 1. [3] For *uštamlilu*? The reading is very doubtful. [4] This instrument is unknown. Perhaps we should read it as Sumerian, $^{iṣu}$*AN-ZI-I*. [5] Cf. *ASKT.* 122, 11, *i-ḫal-lu-lum*. *ḫalālu* means (*a*) "dance" and (*b*) "sing". [6] The verb is evidently (*w*)*aṣû*, III, 3. Cf. *têṣîtu* (Sumer. *A-DA-MAN*) "lamentation". [7] Marduk's boat is called the $^{iṣu}$*elip* $^{nár}$*ǵe-dú*, cf. *VAB.* iv, 128, 71, etc. [*ǵe-dú* is probably a title of Nebo here; see V Raw. 43 B 13; 46 B 56; *CT.* 25, 35 A 29. See the var. *PBS.* xv, 79, II, 27, $^{iṣu}$*elip* $^{nár}$*ǵe-dú e-lip* $^{ilu}$*Nabû*. S. L.] [8] So we must surely read. *šá-ru-ri* occurs also in Streck, 266, l. 17. [9] For examples of *ittu* in the sense "surroundings", see *VAB.* iv, 322. [10] Referring to *ilu-ú-su*. [11] The Urash-gate lay on the bank of the Arahtu-canal, cf. *VAB.* iv, 180, 19 ff. [12] Cf. Streck, 264, 10 and 266, note 1. [13] Restored from Streck, 266, 10.

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# The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing
## A Study in Attitudes

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE IX.)

PORTRAITURE, as we now know, was a very early member of the nascent arts of primitive man.

Palæolithic men were of necessity hunters. What they hunted on the plains and among the hills for food and covering, that they painted or carved on the walls and roofs of their cave dwellings and cliff shelters. The reindeer, the bison, the horse, the elephant were favourite objects of their vivid and impressionistic genius. What they lacked of imagination they made up for by exact memories and singularly skilful technique. Less frequent were their delineations of humanity, and as concerns the female part of it, most unflattering, being affected by a kind of exasperated candour.[1] The Age of Chivalry was far distant indeed!

But the particular feature in primitive drawing of the human figure that I wish to call attention to is its marked linearity.

This feature recurs in the art of the Bushman; among the Eskimos; among the Red Indian tribes; among the Chuk-chi of North-East Siberia,[2] and doubtless among other existing primitive peoples, though in none of them is the linear mannerism the sole method of portraiture adopted. Moreover, it is a very ancient mannerism, being conspicuous in some of the scenes recorded by Palæolithic artists in Spain. Obermaier distinguishes such figures as Nematomorphic. Let us thank the Spanish archæologist for "nematomorphic". It is a good word and an elongated, and shares

[1] See, e.g. Miss Helen Tongue's *Bushman Paintings*, pl. xxviii, where the steatopygy of the female figures must be seen to be believed. Or again, the Willendorf woman carved in oolite. Spearing's *Childhood of Art*, fig. 22, p. 40.

[2] The relative references appear at the end of the present Article.



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with the figures it describes the common property of "length without breadth".

This linearity, this enforced reduction of the human frame, is strikingly manifest in archaic Chinese script. We shall find it in the different forms of man, whether seen frontally or in profile, alike in action and at rest.

In this Paper, owing to the abundance of material deserving attention, it is proposed to restrict our study to those typical characters that represent man as seen in profile, and, normally, facing to the left. And first of all, to that of the most ancient character for *jên*, man, now written in three ways, 人 as an independent word, and 亻 and 儿, when in combination. And we may note in passing that the first of these combining forms comes closer to the archaic shape than does 人 *jên*, the orthodox scription of the character when standing alone.

## Type 1

Figures 1 to 4 on Plate IX represent variants of the earliest type that we can assign *with certainty* to the word *jên*, man, though it is possible that another rather fuller design may in the future prove its claim to represent the same word. We shall come to it later.

For instance, Chalmers, usually so careful, says of it, "the prevailing characteristic is the two lines for the legs."[1] And Wieger, while actually citing the *Shuo Wen's* reputative statement, writes, "*Jên*,[2] a man represented by his legs."[2] Yet the *Shuo Wen's* words are 象臂脛之形, that is, "depicts the arm and the leg." And there can be no doubt that the *Shuo Wen* was right in this, and that the left-hand stroke is the extended arm. And here may I point out a peculiarity or mannerism of the artists who designed the prehistoric pictography of the Chinese (if Chinese they were), in that in drawing profile figures, whether human or animal, they seldom represented more than half the real number of

[1] *Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 9.
[2] *Chinese Characters* (Eng. edition), p. 71.

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limbs, one arm and one leg for man, one fore and one hind leg for beasts.

So much then, for the oldest examples of *jên*, man, *qua* character, worn down and worn out by hard and ceaseless use to a headless, handless and footless trunk. But we are about to examine forms, some found on archaic Bronzes, and more on the Honan Bone relics, that offer what must have been, typologically, a more ancient, and artistically a more veritable portrait of Man seen in profile. Some of these forms we cannot yet attach to any known Chinese word, being ignorant as to what later characters correspond to, and have replaced them. Some occur so far only in composition. But all are visibly human figures at rest or in action.

## Type 2

Proceeding from the simple to the more complex forms, let us begin with one that has already been illustrated and partly discussed in a previous number of this *Journal*.[1] For convenience sake the two variants are now repeated as Figs. 5 and 6. It is not generally the aim of this Paper to debate questions of the correct equation of archaic forms with modern characters, so that we need not here try to decide whether Figs. 5 and 6 are primitive drawings standing for 人 *jên*, man, or for 元 *yüan*, prime, or for 子 *tzŭ*, son. What is clear is that they depict a man with a head on his shoulders, but otherwise the same as Figs. 1 to 4.

We find this same type in groups of two, three, and even four, in certain unknown compound characters on very early Bronzes. Thus Fig. 7 is from Yuan Yuan's collection of inscriptions, *Chi Ku Chai*, etc., *chüan* 1, p. 29. I call special attention to Fig. 8, which is clearly a variation of Fig. 7. I copied it some twenty-one years ago from a Bronze lance-head inscribed on one side, and forming part of the Wang Collection of Antiquities in the Museum of the Anglo-

[1] *JRAS.*, July, 1926, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VII, pp. 464–5, and Plate VI, Figs. 1 and 2.

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Chinese College, Tientsin. This exhibition was derived from the valuable collection of a well-known antiquarian, Wang I-jung, a Grand Secretary, living in Peking at the time of the Boxer movement. "On the entry of the Foreign Contingents into Peking, whence nearly all the official class had fled, the Grand Secretary, solitary and helpless, following the precedents of the antiquity he knew so well, 'faced the north,' made the due obeisance for the last time, and then with his wife and widowed daughter-in-law, threw himself into a well and perished."

The "strange Pictogram" (Fig. 8, similar ones are found elsewhere) "seems to represent four human figures under what may possibly be a standard." So far as I know, this figure has never been published before.

### Type 3

Another simple type to be noted is that of the crouching or kneeling man. From it are derived the Lesser Seal and modern characters 𠂉, and 儿 or 人, found only in composition.

The two varying scriptions of *jên*, viz. 人 and 儿, are separated in the *Shuo Wen* for reasons of expediency in classifying the large number of compounds of each, for some follow one form and some the other.

But in the earliest times the two types were derived from the same model of humanity, which was, as it were, sawn asunder, the upper half ultimately becoming 人, and the lower, 儿, each semi-human relic claiming to be *jên*, man.

Even in the most archaic inscriptions the kneeling type is very rarely found as an independent character, but in compound formations it abounds. Figs. 9, 10, and 11, however, may be cited as standing by themselves. Figs. 12 to 15 show differences in detail, and are combining-forms, as appears from the compound characters on the Plate.

It is not the aim of this Paper to equate all the ancient types reviewed with their corresponding modern equivalents,

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unless for one reason or another this is helpful to its main purpose. But it seems appropriate to quote a short passage in which Lo Chên-yü gives his considered opinion on the nature of the figures we are examining. He says,[1] "The *Shuo Wen* explains 令 *ling* as, to issue a command; composed with 亼 *tsi*, and 卩 *tsieh*, joint or tally." Lo, however, has a different opinion; "It appears" he says, "that in the ancient writing 令 *ling* was composed with 亼 and 人 *jên*, man, q.d. to assemble a number of men and give them authoritative commands. Hence in ancient times 令 *ling* and 命 *ming* were one character and had one meaning, 故古令與命爲一字一誼. When Hsü in his Work (the *Shuo Wen*) explains 卩 (*tsieh*, in Hsü's eyes) as an auspicious token, he did not know that the ancient form 卩 depicted a man kneeling, and was the character 人 *jên*, man, 象人跽形卽人字也. All the characters ranged under 卩 (The *Shuo Wen's* 338th Radical) are wrongly analyzed."

My only hesitation in accepting this valuable dictum of Lo's is confined to a doubt whether the crouching or kneeling figure was actually employed to write the word *jên*, or was possibly the written form of some other syllable. But in any case, when this type is not at the bottom but at the side of a modern character, it is miswritten, and believed to be 卩 *tsieh*, joint.

## Type 4

Mounting one rung of the scale of complexity we reach a form, marked by a certain picturesque naïveté, but tempting the investigator to advance over some ice that is exceedingly thin. Figs. 16 and 17 (also found reversed, 18) appear to be merely more finished variants of the last type, and indeed they must really be so, for they occur sometimes on the Honan Bones in place of the more usual Fig. 19, as "supporters" in the compound character 鄉 *hsiang*. The uppermost element, which in certain other characters is

[1] *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 51, s.v. 令 *Ling*.

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found similarly placed, seems a mere convention for a head and face seen in profile. Strictly regarded however, it is in form an *ad hoc* application of the ordinary character for 口 *k'ou*, mouth, rotated to the right or left through a quadrant of a circle, and serving at once as a significant gesture, and as an enforced aberrancy from the normal position of the *mouth* character in order to avoid identity with the archaic scription of 兄 *hsiung*, elder brother. However this may be, Fig. 16, and its reverse, separated by an element expressing food on a dish are seen facing each other in Fig. 20, representing the modern 鄉 *hsiang*, village, in form, but 饗 *hsiang*, to offer food, in meaning.[1]

Now Lo Chên-yü surmises[2] very acutely that the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal form Fig. 21 (its 341st Radical and now written 卿), represents the Honan Bone form, Fig. 19; that the latter is identical with a more naturalistic and ampler sign, Fig. 22, found very rarely on those relics; that this latter portrays two men facing each other; that it is the true scription of the later character 嚮 *hsiang*, towards, just as Figs. 23 or 24 (modern 北 *pei*, North, but also, to turn the back on), depicts two men back to back. I infer then, for Lo does not explicitly say this, that he regards each half of Fig. 22 as a fully finished variant of the character 人 *jên*.

## Type 5

Analogous to the last type, and formed of the same components, but having the *upper* element only reversed, is Fig. 25 (and reversed, Fig. 26).

This quaint formation represents the modern 旡 *chi*, and so far as I know, at no phase of its career occurs as an independent character, but is fairly common in compounds. It is said by the *Shuo Wen* to mean "to choke". But it is well to proceed very cautiously with regard to it.

[1] See this fully discussed in *JRAS.* for 1917, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part I, pp. 805–7, and especially the Plate, Figs. 120–5.
[2] *Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 51 rect.

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First of all, it is a fact that the modern scription of *chi* descends not, as usual, from the Lesser Seal version, 𠂤, but from the real archaic construction shown above, Fig. 26, for the upper element in the Lesser Seal is modern 气 *ch'i*, vapour, but in the archaic and the modern forms alike, it is a deflexion of 口 *k'ou*, mouth.

Next, we find that the *Shuo Wen* states that the character 兂 *chi* is 欠 *ch'ien*, reversed (從 反 欠), and so, in the Lesser Seal it is, where 𠂤 is the Lesser Seal scription of 欠 *ch'ien*, but it is not so in the archaic or modern shapes. But the statement that 欠 *ch'ien* and 兂 *chi* were thus correlated forms is interesting and important. Lastly, the *Shuo Wen* gives us a *Ku wen* or ancient form of 兂 *chi*, and, if the shape is as Hsü originally wrote it, this was Fig. 27. But both the Honan relics and the old Bronzes prove that this is erroneously written as regards the lower element, and that the *Ku wen* should be Fig. 28, even when negligently finished off. Now such a form corresponds strictly to the archaic Fig. 26.

What then is the significance of this character, in which the mouth (or the head and mouth) faces in the contrary direction to that of the body? Such a posture seems to require some correlated sign wherein the mouth and head have a more normal relation to the rest of the human body. And this normal relation is seen at once in Type 4, where both body and head face in the same forward direction.

If therefore Type 5 (Figs. 25 or 26) shows us the archaic design of 兂 *chi*, to choke, and if the *Shuo Wen* is right in describing this *chi* as the reverse of *ch'ien* to gape, then Type 4, e.g. Fig. 18, must be that reverse, and consequently stand for *ch'ien*. Now, it is true, we might have expected that in a character picturing a gaping mouth the upper element would have been left open, that is, without the short downstroke, thus ⊃ not ⊡. And as to that we should note Tuan Yü-ts'ai's statement that in Hsü Ch'ieh's Edition of the *Shuo Wen* the character 欠 *ch'ien* is written as Fig. 29, that is with an obviously open mouth. Nevertheless, on the Honan Bones,

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no example known to me appears with the mouth thus left open. But, on the other hand, Takada in the *Ku Chou P'ien*,[1] gives several examples (all in compound characters) of 欠 *ch'ien*, written with the mouth widely opened as shown by Figs. 30 and 31, the last from the Stone Drums, the others from ancient Bronzes.

Loth as I always am to differ from the excellent judgment of Lo Chên-yü, the facts and considerations set out above seem more consistent with an identification of the headed and kneeling figures in Fig. 22, with the open-mouthed forms shown in Figs. 30 and 31, and of all four with 欠 *ch'ien*, than with the simple character 人 *jen*, as Lo thinks.

### Type 6

Proceeding now from head to foot, we reach a simple design where the head is ignored and the foot emphasized by exaggeration. This design is found, but very rarely, as an independent character, on the Honan Bones; and in composition, both there and on ancient Bronzes. Figs. 32 and 33 (they appear to be variants) occur on the Bones, and Fig. 34 on Bronze, in the character now generally written 致 *chih*, to bring about, an effect, but also in the early scription of 寒 *han*, cold, and of 僰 *p'o*, an indigenous race in Ssuchuan Province.

Lo Chên-yü identifies this formation, and very justly it would seem, with the modern 企 *ch'i*, to stand on tiptoe, but not so Takada[2] who sees in it 夂 *ch'ui* or *sui*, Kanghsi's 35th Radical.

An attractive example of this type (not otherwise known to me) is cited by Takada, *Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 54, p. 18, whence I have copied Fig. 34*a*. He considers it "without doubt the most archaic form of 據 *chü*, to hold on to", and rightly says the human figure and the staff make a picture of someone supported by a staff, 杖持象形 *chang ch'ih hsiang hsing*, and 杖持 *chang ch'ih* is the definition of the *Shuo Wen* for

[1] *K.C.P.*, chüan 37, pp. 7, 8; chüan 35, p. 9.
[2] *K.C.P.*, ch. 63, p. 26.

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the character 據 *chü*, while Takada treats the remaining element (又 *yu*, the right hand) as equivalent to the 扌 *shou* in the character 據 *chü*. This is very ingenious and may well be the true explanation. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to conclude that without the hand element, the figure with the staff stands for the most primitive scription of 杖 *chang*, a staff, or to use a staff. But Takada cannot insert any example taken from original documents of either 丈 or 杖, but only his own "reconstructions" of them, from their component elements (集 形 *tsi hsing*).

## Type 7

So far we have considered the human form in various attitudes. But in Type 7 we are to deal with a figure that up to quite recent years was believed to stand for a demonic or spectral being, as well as for that part of the disembodied spirit of man that returns to the Earth after the vital spark has been quenched. In the popular mind it is applied to evil spirits incarnate in various monstrous, horrific, or loathly shapes, such, for example, as Europeans. These shapes are often partially anthropomorphic as appears in the written character 鬼 *kuei*, devil, which includes the form for kneeling man (Type 3), while the upper part is thought to have once depicted the head and features of some frightful fiend, Figs. 35 and 36.

This may be the true account, but on the whole I incline to agree with Takada's view that the character portrays a man kneeling and wearing some ceremonial headgear while he renders their due rights to the spirits of the dead. His actual words are 象 戴 冠 弁 *hsiang tai kuan pien*, "depicts the wearing of a ceremonial cap." Such an interpretation of the whole character is consonant (not to put it higher) with the *Shuo Wen's* ancient form Fig. 37, which, strangely enough, is confirmed by a Honan bone example, Fig. 38, the left-hand element in both cases being 示 *shih*, to indicate, a sign, (the regular Determinative for characters relating to worship and spiritual beings).

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It is curious that whereas the Lesser Seal shape of the upper element in 鬼 *kuei*, is, according to the *Shuo Wen*, 由, and explained as "a spectre's head", the two examples given above, Figs. 35 and 36 (one from the well-known Mao Kung Caldron, the other from the Honan relics), are simply, as there written, 田 *t'ien*, fields. But of course they are merely stylized reductions of some earlier and more complex figure. And the crux of decipherment is to discover how this earlier figure was designed, and what it was meant to represent.

The solution now to be proposed, while based in the main on Takada's and my own reading of the type shown in Figs. 35 and 36, goes further, and presents a novel decipherment of a very strange but little known figure forming part of the complex in Figs. 39 and 40.[1] I should say at once that Takada, who has much to say on the matter, holds a very different view from mine.

Shortly then, the complex in question is found within what I have elsewhere called "a cartouche", it is a characteristic framework considered to be the old and true form of the modern character 亞 *ya*, and to stand for the ground-plan of an ancestral hall. In a rather wide range of variation of detail it occurs on a number of the most archaic Bronzes, Takada citing (chüan 36, p. 32) no less than twenty-nine examples. He now believes the enclosed group to be a very ancient scription of the word 招 *chao*, to beckon, invite, and identifies the right-hand element with the later character written 丮,[2] in composition, but not now found alone. I am not here concerned to discuss the whole complex. But I do not accept his equation of the right-hand part, and in place of it, I suggest that we see in it a very archaic form of 鬼 *kuei*.

Like Takada, I suppose the curious upper part to represent the head and elaborate headgear. Like him too, I see in the

[1] Figs. 39 and 40 are copied by me from the facsimiles in the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*, vol. xii (殷文存, 下, p. 35, and vol. viii, ibid., 上, p. 3).

[2] It forms the right-hand part of 執 *chih*, to grasp, as now written.

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linear lower part the body with one arm extended, raising apparently a wine jar from a holder or chafing dish, and, as Takada says, clothed in full dress (of ceremonial worship, as I suppose). And I further see in the unusual spiral termination below, (not, we may note, in the Bone or usual Bronze examples), the probable origin of the little element 厶 present in both the Lesser Seal and modern forms, displaced first, and then misunderstood by the Han and later scholars. I should add that such a novel decipherment would not necessarily militate against the Japanese epigraphist's solution of the whole complex as 招 *chao*, to beckon.

And there I leave the character *kuei*, whether as pious worshipper, or grisly spectre, for the future to decide, but in any case gratified that Mr. Takada and myself concur in believing that the quaint figure in Figs. 39 and 40 represents the human form viewed in profile.

## Type 8

Few looking at the modern version of this obscure, insignificant, and mostly miswritten character 兂 and discovering that it means a hatpin or hairpin (for which, however, the much larger 簪 *tsan* is now substituted), would expect to find it included in a study of types of the human figure. Nor would they probably be helped by certain of the much stylized old forms that are recorded, e.g. Fig. 41, the parent of the Lesser Seal scription.

But the uncertainty is illuminated when we see a very archaic and picturesque drawing, Fig. 42, cited by Takada (*Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 35, p. 17). Here the man's outline is plain enough, and the only question is what does the projecting object above his head stand for? It looks more like a large comb than a hat-pin, although again, it might be a decorative feather. One thing is certain. It is some sort of fastening or ornament worn by a man, perhaps characteristic of some non-Chinese race.

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## Type 9

It seems perhaps a questionable arrangement that classifies the two Figs. 42 and 43 under one head. But the action indicated by each being as I think, apparently closely related, they are both treated conveniently together. For here, surely, we are privileged to witness the domesticities of the bathtub and the wash-basin, as practised in the most ancient China.

The pictogram exhibited in Fig. 42 is extant in two examples only, and those of Shang or Yin dynasty date. Facsimile reproductions appear in vol. x, p. 28, of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, in the series entitled *Yin wên ts'un*, or "Extant writing of the Yin dynasty". Until Mr. Takada's *Ku Chou P'ien* was published, the Figure had never to my knowledge been identified with any modern character, nor commented on at all. Takada's ingenious equation of it with the modern character 攬 *lan*, to grasp, is thus defended. He says (*chüan* 54, p. 19), "The sound and meaning cannot be actually proved, but a scrutiny of the figure shows that it consists of 皿 *min*, a vessel or dish, and of a man grasping an object and gazing into it" (Query, the object or the vessel ?). And a little later he adds, "advancing his head and looking downwards into the vessel" (人頫而下視器皿之中也), while "the element 𠬞 shows the idea of grasping" (又𠬞即執持之意).

I confess I do not quite grasp the Japanese scholar's idea. Why should a man looking down into a vessel close below him want to grasp any object, in fact, with what object does he look downward ? To my mind there is a far more easily explained interpretation, and this is it. We have a linear sketch of a man stooping over a basin. From his crudely drawn head a rope of hair hangs down which he grasps, perhaps about to dip it into the basin, perhaps wringing it out to dry. There seems a certain grotesque truthfulness in the drawing of the attitude. I do not desire to equate it with any existing Chinese character, beyond suggesting that it might be a variant of Fig. 43, now to be considered.

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According to Lo Chên-yü, this is the early way of writing the character 沬 *hui*, explained by the *Shuo Wen* as "to wash the face". And Lo describes the old figure as depicting a man with dishevelled hair close to a basin washing his face (象人散髮就皿洒面之狀).

It is quite possible to reconstruct Lo's archaic group in modern script, when it would appear as 頮, if it were in Kanghsi's Dictionary, which it is not. The primitive artist was in trouble with the upper right hand and arm, and just did the best he could.

These two figures admirably illustrate a signal difficulty that meets the inquirer into the history of Chinese writing, and one that Mr. Takada again and again points out in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, namely the constant abandonment of an original pictogram in favour of some more easily written phonetic compound, or less often, of one constructed on the *hui i* or suggestive combination principle. When this change has taken place, the investigating sleuth-hound finds that the scent is absolutely lost. And more than that, it cannot but leave a large margin of doubt on every conjectural equation with a modern form, however plausible and ingenious.

## Type 10

The type now about to engage our attention is larger, more expressive, and of greater interest because of the important compounds of which it forms part, than those we have hitherto passed in review.

Yet this form has not existed as an independent character since, probably, the Shang dynasty, say, the close of the second millennium B.C., for it has been found in its archaic aspect on the Honan relics.

Kanghsi prints its modern form as 刋, and the *Shuo Wen* gives the Lesser Seal shape as 𠬝, and adds that "it is read like 戟 *chi*". The same authority explains its meaning as 持也 *ch'ih yeh*, to grasp, and basing himself on the construction of the Lesser Seal, states that the figure depicts the hand

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having something in its grasp. From which it is clear that Hsü Shên had not seen the true archaic scription, reproduced in Figs. 44 to 48.

These designs, it should be remarked, are exceptional in that they do not conform to the practice noticed earlier in this paper of representing only two of the four limbs of man and quadrupeds seen in profile. Here we see both arms extended. The type is mostly found in composition, but Figs. 44 and 45 stand alone. In the first two the attitude suggests prayer, supplication, or high respect. In the third, Fig. 46, the relation of the two hands seems to indicate that some object is being carefully held, though none is actually shown in this instance, as though an offering of sacrifice was about to be made, an interpretation that is confirmed by the presence of a variant of the character 示 *shih*, the Determinative of spiritual beings and ceremonies. Figs. 47 and 48 are clearly identical with 46, though the artist's want of skill appears to make both hands spring from one arm. Wu Ta-ch'êng cites Fig. 47 from a bronze under the entry 祀 *ssŭ*, to sacrifice, but Takada also citing the same bronze, treats it as a 古逸字 *ku i tzŭ*, i.e. an archaic and obsolete character, which he reconstructs in what he holds would be its modern aspect, as 祀. Whether Wu or Takada is right, or whether neither is, it is very interesting to meet the exact double of Fig. 47 on a cowrie in my collection, H. 318, Fig. 48, for it is unique among those relics, and unknown to the Chinese and Japanese scholars, from the various other collections.

* * * *

Among the compound formations in which this type takes part is the archaic prototype of the character 揚 *yang*, to lift up, exalt, mount, expand. This is remarkable for the large range of variation presented by the very numerous instances occurring in the oldest bronze and bone inscriptions recorded and now accessible. And it is a long-pondered consideration of these variants that has led me slowly to a new, heterodox, and perhaps startling deduction of the origin and true

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significance of the included element 昜 *yang*. This is variously rendered by various writers as "the opening up of the day-light" (Chalmers), "to expand, glorious" (Wieger), "Male. Ciel: firmament. Clair" (Callery). These authors all follow the *Shuo Wen* in its analysis of the character 昜 as being composed of 日 *jih*, sun, and 勿 *wu*, a flag (now written 旸), which certain personages of rank were entitled to fly; and they equally accept its explanation of the meaning, as 開 *k'ai*, to open.

Our first concern, however, is with the compound character 揚 *yang*, and in the course of examining its archaic predecessors I shall have to maintain that the composition and significance of its main element 昜 *yang*, has been totally misunderstood, and in consequence wrongly analysed, by the school to which Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wen*, belonged, and whose teaching he accepted and transmitted. And this, owing to ignorance of the vast store of Shang and Chou documents in bronze and bone that have since been exhumed and studied.

In order that the argument may be more conveniently followed, I have selected nine examples of the archaic variants of 揚 *yang*, arranging them in a series from the most to the least complex groups, Figs. 49 to 57. All of these except the last comprise some variant of 丮 *chi*, to hold or grasp, Type 10, corresponding in function though not in form to the Determinative 扌 *shou*, hand, of the Lesser Seal and modern versions of 揚 *yang*. The first three, Figs. 49 to 51, have apparently three other elements; the next two have two out of those three, Figs. 52 and 53; Figs. 54 and 55 have only one; and the last two again, have two.

It is impossible with our present knowledge to ascertain which of all these variations represents the most primitive model. All we can do is to attempt to reconstruct the pictorial ideal in the mind of the ancient artist, and that, as I hope to show, has not yet been done in full for the most complex, nor even for some of the simpler versions. The author of the *Shuo Wen* had not seen such combinations as Figs. 49 to 57,

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so that his analysis of the Lesser Seal character is inevitably inadequate to explain them.

The clue, however, has now been found. Whoever will look at Figs. 54 and 55 will discover more quickly where the solution lies when he realizes what the circle with its central dot was intended to represent.

It does not, and it never did, represent 日 *jih*, the sun, as Hsü Shên believed. On the contrary, it depicts the 璧 *pi*, or large disk of jade, with its central circular aperture. Splendid specimens of these jades are in Mr. George Eumorfopoulos' cabinets. Such tokens of authority and symbols of rank were held in the hands (as these figures show) at audiences of the monarch, and expressed homage or ceremonious thanks. Besides these, in many cases, we find the character for jade, 玉 *yü*, added sometimes above, oftener beneath, the *pi* or disk, perhaps partly to avoid that very confusion with 日 *jih*, the sun, that nevertheless ensued later. But there remains, as the lowest part of the larger variants, an element which provides the only point of uncertainty in the composition. It seems to take two forms. One, less usually seen in the archaic character, certainly appears to be, as the *Shuo Wen* says, the character 勿 *wu*. The second, a frequent alternative to 勿 *wu*, is a simple T-shaped form whose stem generally curves either to the right or the left. It is the first of these two varieties that reappears in the Lesser Seal and modern scriptions of 昜 *yang*. The second, or T-shaped sign, as it seems to me, may reasonably be held to form part of the first. But whether it is the parent shape, or a residual contraction, I am not able to say. I may, however, observe that it is found again in the bone version of the character there written 𠂉 and 𠂉 (now 寧 *ning*), where above it is 皿 *min*, dish, and where it seems natural to regard the lower element as indicating some sort of stand or support. I am accordingly inclined to regard the small diagonal strokes in the alleged 勿 *wu* element as unessential, and perhaps = 彡 *shan*. And support is precisely

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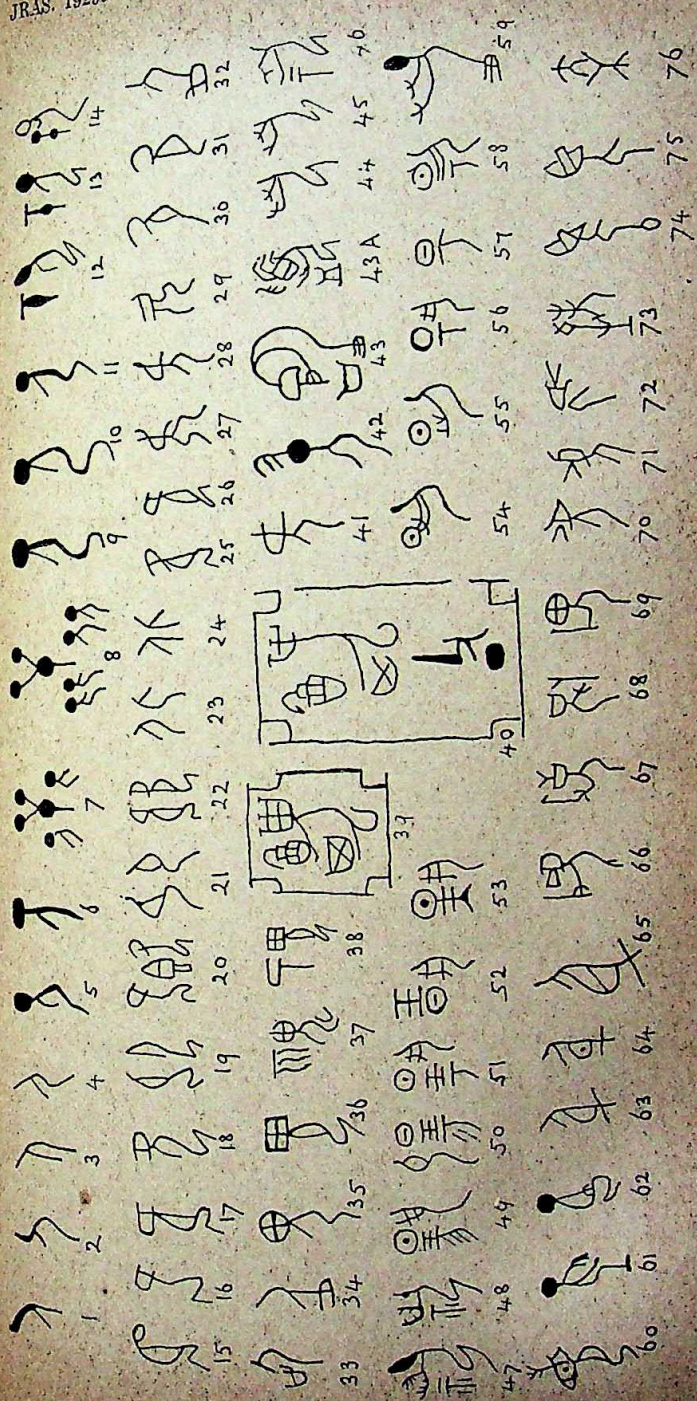

**The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing.**

[To face p. 372.

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what I suppose 丅 to stand for in the variants of 揚 *yang* where it appears. That is to say, that it represents some kind of pedestal or footed base from which the jade disk was raised at the proper moment, as seems to be displayed in a crudely drawn example of the character illustrated in the Chin Ts'un Section, additional chüan 2, 1st plate, in vol. xxi of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* (see Fig. 58 on Plate).[1]

It must not be forgotten that no explanation of 揚 *yang* or of its comp cnent昜 *yang*, will be sufficient that does not account for the whole complex of the more elaborate and archaic versions of the character in question.

To sum up the significance of the primitive pictogram later replaced by 揚 *yang*.

To suggest and exemplify the physical action of raising, and the figurative sense of exalting, both embodied in the word *yang*, we have a human figure with extended arms raising in both hands a circular disk of jade from what appears to be an honorific support and stand.

It would follow from such a view that the simple character 昜 *yang* (without any Determinative) cannot in the earliest ages have existed, except as a conscious contraction of the more explicit 揚 or similar composite form.

## Type 11

This need not detain us long, having been discussed in the *Journcl* for 1927 in "Pictographic Reconnaissances", part viii, pp. 771–7, and illustrated on Plate VII, Figs. 8–10. In that paper I described the figure as a "crudely drawn and linearized profile of a man grasping some object", and I need add nothing here to that description.

Fig. 59 is a reconstructed character, a "composite" integration of the two Figures 8 and 9 (omitting the object held) on Plate VII of "Pict. Reconn.", part viii. Of these, Fig. 8 omits the foot, and Fig. 9 discards the head, but retains the foot. We are entitled, therefore, to infer an original form

[1] Cited also by Takada in *K.C.P.*, ch. 55, p. 3.



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as shown in Fig. 59. As will be seen, this differs only from Type 10 by the presence of the foot, the explicit restoration of which is probably here and elsewhere meant to show that the man is moving.

### Type 12

This appears to be the last figure amplified by a fully developed head with hair. It has become the 181st "Radical" of Kanghsi, and is there said to be pronounced *hsieh*, but in modern use has lost the rough breathing and is sounded *yeh*. The *Shuo Wen* defines the word as "head", and as a Determinative of many characters, it agrees with that meaning.

Kanghsi is very curt in its treatment of this character, for after citing the alleged pronunciation according to three earlier dictionaries, and the *Shuo Wen's* entry, the Editors confine themselves to adding from the *Liu Shu Ku* ("Six Scripts") that the character is 首 *shou* and ought not to be pronounced *hsieh*, and that the *Shuo Wen* was wrong in making it a separate Radical with a different sound.

The normal type is well and clearly shown in the inscription on the four-handled *tui* (or *chiu* as Mr. Yetts suggests it should be read) of the Eumorfopoulos collection, where in combination it appears twice (see Fig. 60 on Plate). This is an already much stylized rendering of Type 3 (modern 儿) surmounted by a variant of the human head and hair, disproportionately drawn for the sake of emphasis, but intended to give a profile view.

We may remark two things of this type, first that so far in archaic Chinese it never occurs as an independent character; and second that it differs only from the archaic forms of 見 *chien*, to perceive, by having 首 *shou*, head, where *chien* has 目 *mu*, eye.

### Type 13

Under one group are here brought together outlines of the human figure in profile, whether standing or kneeling, but all having the head, one or both arms, with hands or a hand,

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and the foot also indicated. What word may be meant seems uncertain, but the native scholars, judging by the general nature of the brief inscriptions containing them, usually treat them as being *ad hoc* varieties of the character for *son*, viz. 子 *tzŭ*. Perhaps in most cases they are right, for it is hard to find a more likely solution.

A curious chance has brought on to the same page of Wu Ta-ch'êng's *K'o Chai Chi Ku Lu*,[1] the two examples numbered Figs. 61 and 62 on the Plate.

I should mention as regards Fig. 61 that in his Supplement, the *Ku Chou P'ien Pu I*, *chüan* 3, p. 15, Takada cites the form, but shows close to the head and partly above it, a crudely drawn 戈 *ko* or halberd, and treats the two as forming one group, adding, "a man beneath a halberd and with hands hanging down,—this is 戍 *shu*, frontier guard, not 伐 *fa*, to attack." He may perhaps be right.

## Type 14

No one, probably, looking at the modern shape of the character 身 *shên*, body, nor perhaps at the Lesser Seal version, 𠂤, would detect a human model. Yet it is there, and not so far to seek, in many of the archaic designs, such for instance as are seen in Figs. 63 to 65.

All except the *Shuo Wen* agree that in one way or another these old forms represent the human figure with the belly emphasized, while there is incomplete agreement as to the lower diagonal, or short cross stroke. Fig. 65 seems very convincing that Takada has rightly interpreted the forms as intended to represent a pregnant woman, the contained dot or line suggesting the foetus, and corresponding with the expression in the spoken language 有身 *yu shên* "having body", that is, being pregnant. But the lower cross or diagonal stroke has caused more doubt. I do not see how it can be phonetic as the *Shuo Wen* supposes, nor does it seem happily described, as it is by Wieger, as "a leg moving forward to

[1] *Ts'ê* 23, p. 17.

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keep the equilibrium ". My own explanation is quite different. I believe it to be a conventional device, or written gesture, " stop here," as it were, meant to direct the attention to what is immediately above, viz. the pregnant body, as being the key to the significance of the character, and the sense of the word.

## Type 15

The discovery of this type is due to the Honan Relics, and unless I am deceived, the discovery also provides the earlier form, and the explanation, of the character 兌 *tui*, now used for " exchange ", but interchanged with 悅 *yüeh*, joy, gladness, and some other of its compounds, in the older literature.

The four Figs. 66 to 69, all from the Honan bones, are, I believe, variants of this type. They represent a human figure, with a head variously modified and abridged, holding in one hand what seems to be either a rod, or more probably some form of weapon. Fig. 66 occurs on the remarkable Deershorn " sceptre " now in the British Museum. It should be compared with Fig. 67, where the upper part or head of the figure is essentially the same, but the axis is directed upwards instead of to the left. Fig. 68 is again an abridgment of an abridgment, so that the head is reduced to the mouth. Fig. 69 has the head of a devil (see under Type 7), and is conceivably not a variant of this type, but a separate character, perhaps 畏 *wei*.

Now what is the significance of Figs. 66 and 67, and especially, what is the uppermost part intended to signify? I interpret the latter as a head, contracted, as often, to a mouth, from which issues, in a kind of megaphonic outline, a symbol of the human voice. The two together represent, it is reasonable to suppose, an effort to express the human voice uttering sounds of gladness and loud noise (which are deemed by many to be the same thing). If this be granted, we have, almost exactly in Fig. 67, the prototype of the later 兌 *tui*, in its sense of gladness, the only objection that might

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be urged being that the two small upper strokes—the sides of the megaphone—should, in the later developments of the character, have sloped outwards, thus ∪ not 八. But this is not a very serious difficulty. Moreover, certain further archaic characters, also occurring on the Honan bones, and published in Lo Chên-yü's work, *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, seem clearly to be rather ampler variants of the main or right-hand half of the figures discussed above, and therefore, as I submit, to be early forms of 兌 *tui*. Not that Lo himself took that view of them, for he includes them (on p. 2) in his collection of characters awaiting investigation.[1] Nor can I claim the concurrence of the Japanese scholar, Takada Tadasuke, who surmises that they represent the modern character 吹 *ch'ui*, to blow or breathe out.

But however it may be regarding the equation of these figures with modern characters, what appears certain is the identity of type, despite the variations of detail, of Figs. 70 to 72, with the main part of the four discussed above, Figs. 66 to 69. Here are the same merging of the whole head into a mouth, the same childlike symbol of a something issuing from the mouth, noise, words, mere breath, whatever it may be, the same linear abridgment of body, arm, and leg, that we saw before. The only difference is that in the absence of any object to be grasped, the forearm and hand are economized and omitted.

## Type 16

The identification of this archaic form as the true original of the element 𠤎 in the Lesser Seal, and 耂 in modern writing, which constitutes the main body of the characters 老 *lao*, old and 考 *k'ao*, aged, we owe to the insight of Mr. Takada. He detected it in the form Fig. 73, equivalent to the rare modern character 耋 *tieh*, very old.

The *Shuo Wen*, analysing the Lesser Seal version, treats the upper part as 毛 *mao*, hair, as indeed it seems to be,

[1] See his 殷虛書契待問編 *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien.*

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though why hair, or long hair, should be deemed characteristic of old age is not clear, unless the long eyebrows of old age are suggested. Notice again that the arm, normally even in the archaic script left without a hand, here terminates in that organ, seemingly due to the presence of another element to the left.

It will not seem perhaps clear to ordinary readers why there should be cause for the special congratulations now offered by a fellow-student to the devoted Japanese epigraphist to whose acumen the above discovery is due.

## Type 17

The character 望 or 朢 *wang*, to face, to look towards, does not appear likely to furnish a member of the series of types with which this paper is concerned. Yet, in fact, it does so. Kanghsi, quoting from the *Yü P'ien Dictionary*, gives a form 堊, and calls it the " ancient character " for 望 *wang*. But both Chalmers and Wieger insert the form as = 臣 *ch'ên*.[1]

But the *Shuo Wen* gives (under its radical 壬 *t'ing*) a Lesser Seal form consisting similarly of 臣 *ch'ên* over 壬 *t'ing*, but asserts it to be an " ancient form of 朢 *wang*, contracted ".

The Honan bones, again, supply us with the archaic parent of Kanghsi's " ancient form ", and of the *Shuo Wen's* ancient form also, in the guise of Fig. 74, where the lower half is a primitive scription of 壬 *t'ing* (itself an integrated compound of *man* standing erect on *ground*, 土 *t'u*). But these same relics also display, and in the same contexts, a still simpler form, Fig. 75, where *man* alone remains and the *ground* is absent; and consequently, no longer earth-bound, he claims his due place in this paper,—for *sic itur ad astra*.

Now it might not unreasonably be objected that these two supposed variants may be two quite separate characters. Indeed, I harboured this doubt myself until I found that both occur in the same locution, shown in Fig. 76. The second

[1] *Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 72 and p. 136. *Chinese Characters* (Eng. edition), p. 208.

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character of this is peculiar to the Honan relics. It is a strange formation. Takada, perhaps following Wang Kuo-wei, decides that it stands for 乘 *ch'êng*, to mount. But I am convinced that the true equation was discovered by the late Mr. Frank Chalfant, who saw in it the original of the modern character 幸 *hsing*, fortunate chance, stroke of good luck. And a strong and indeed convincing argument in favour of Chalfant's view is that while 望 乘 *wang ch'êng* is hard to make sense of, 望 幸 *wang hsing* is a known phrase meaning to expect or hope for the arrival of the imperial chariot.[1]

But to return to Fig. 75. As we have seen, the lower part is 人 *jên*, man, surmounted by 臣 *ch'ên*, minister, which, according to the *Shuo Wen*, "depicts bowing in compliance," 象屈服之形 *hsiang ch'ü fu chih hsing*. I have disbelieved this for many years, and Fig. 75 seems to justify this scepticism, and to show that we have in 臣 *ch'ên* a stylized and abridged human head in profile. Thus the whole composite exhibited in Fig. 75 would be strictly analogous with 見 *ch'ien*, to perceive—man surmounted by *eye*—and would represent a man looking towards some personage or object. Such a design would be natural and appropriate for a word with the sense of looking towards, whether with or without the addition of the ground element.

### References

Works quoted in this article.

Hoffman's *Graphic Art of the Eskimos*, p. 796, fig. 27, pl. xl, especially l. 4; p. 844, fig. 50, pls. lx, lxvi, lxvii; p. 869, fig. 84; p. 870, fig. 88.
Mallery's *Picture Writing of the American Indians*, pp. 355, 447, pls. ii, iii, and figs. 29, 35.
Shklovsky's *In Far N.E. Siberia*, plate at p. 136.
Obermaier's *Fossil Man in Spain* (Eng. translation), ch. vii, pp. 243, 250, 252.
Spearing's *Childhood of Art*, fig. 233.

[1] See, e.g., the *Tz'ŭ Yüan*, s.v. 望 *wang*.

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## NOTE ON THE TRIBAL NAME *BÅṚÅ F$^{i}$-SĀ*

The latter part of this name (*f$^{i}$-sā*), which has usually been thought to contain in its first syllable *f$^{i}$* the causative prefix *f$^{a}$-*, *f$^{i}$-* of Bodo, and to be translatable consequently as something like "a made person"[1] as well as simply "sons"[2] or "children",[3] more probably has its affinities, as far as its prefix is concerned, in another direction.

In Dīmā-sā the corresponding form is *ba-sā* "male child", *bŭ-sū* "female child" (Hojai dialect of Nowgong *pa-sā* and *pu-su* (*pŭ-sū*?) respectively), and the causative prefix of this language is *p̓a-*, *p̓ŭ-*, a different element. Similarly Mech of Jalpaiguri *bī-šā*, Gārō (Standard) *bi-sā* (Rugā dialect of the Hills *pī-sā*), Tipurā of Dacca *b$^{a}$-sā*, *b-sā*, all meaning "child", and Chutiyā *pi-šā* "son", contain no prefixes which appear elsewhere in their respective languages as causative formatives, these languages either possessing different elements for that purpose or else lacking any prefixed causative at all.

In related groups the same is true. Thus, for instance, although possessing a causative prefix *pe-*, *pī-*, *pā-*, Mikir does not use it with this word, which is there *ā-sō* or *ē-sō*.

From this it begins to appear that the coincidence in form of the prefix in the Bodo word *f$^{i}$-sā* with the causative element may be due to phonetic convergence and not to original identity. It is hardly in keeping with the usual procedure of the Tibeto-Burman languages of this area to allow a causative formation to play the part of a substantive of this nature, these latter with much the greatest frequency being provided

[1] Grierson, *LSI.* i, 1, p. 63. Cf. Sten Konow, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 56 (1902), p. 496.
[2] *LSI.* iii, 1, p. 5.
[3] Endle, *Outline Grammar of the Kachari (Bårå) Language*, p. vi (Preface).

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with pronominal prefixes, though this does not seem to be the case here.

The second member of all these forms is, of course, related to Tibetan *ʿtsa(-bo, -mo)* [1] " offspring " in general, with which it is particularly significant that Tibetan *bu* " child ", " son ", appears in combination in *bu-ʿtsa*, *bu-tsa* " children's children " > West. T. " boy ", Purig *bŭ-ʿtsā* [2] " son ".

Here the writer believes we may have the explanation of the Bodo prefix $f^{i}$-. The vowel interchange between *i* and *u* is frequent in the Bodo languages,[3] and also occurs in Tibetan,[4] though it is perhaps legitimate to inquire whether the initial of the Bodo prefix does not rather verge towards a sonant (v), this especially in view of our, as yet, almost total lack of scientifically accurate phonetic transcriptions in this region.

The varying forms of Dīmā-sā *ba-sā* " male child ", *bŭ-sū* " female child ", probably arise from some such single original as **bŭ-sā*, the second member of which in the feminine has absorbed some vocalic gender suffix in *u*, the influence of which the prefix has also felt, prefixes nearly always in this language showing a strong tendency towards vowel harmony with the following root.

The weakness of the proposed equation, it must be frankly confessed, lies in the fact that the equivalence of initial *f* in Bodo with Tibetan initial *b* has yet to be given corroboration. Until, however, the possibility of such an

[1] This form and its immediate Tibetan cognates the writer has considered on a previous occasion. See *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, vol. iv (1928), p. 279.

[2] Bailey's *bŭtsha*; *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*, Asiatic Society Monographs, xviii (1920), p. 42.

[3] As, for instance, between the dialects of Dīmā-sā in the Hills and in the Plains. See Dundas, *Outline Grammar and Dictionary of the Kachari (Dimasa) Language*, Vocabulary passim.

[4] In *h̲big(s)-pa*, perf. *ʿpigs*, fut. dbig, imp. *ʿpig(s)* and *h̲bug(s)-pa*, perf. *ʿpug*, fut. *dbug*, imp. *ʿpug* " to sting, to pierce, to bore "; *šib-pa* and *šub-pa*, perf. and imp. *šubs* " to whisper "; *h̲bib(s)-pa* and *h̲bub(s)-pa*, perf. and imp. *ʿpub(s)*, fut. *dbub* " to put on a roof "; *dbyig-pa* and *dbyug-pa* " stick "; and others.

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equation has been more thoroughly investigated than is at the present moment possible, the suggested basic identity of Bodo *fi-sā* and Tibetan *bu-tsa*, *bu-tsa*, will perhaps not be too definitely countered, for, at least, it is strongly supported by the various forms of the Bodo Group in initial *b* given above.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

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## TA'RĪKH-I FAKHRU'D-DĪN MUBĀRAKSHĀH

In the introduction to his edition of *Ta'rīkh-i Fakhru'd-Dīn Mubārakshāh* (James G. Forlong Fund series) and in his article on "The Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn", contributed to the *'Ajab Nāmah* (pp. 392–413), Sir E. Denison Ross has endeavoured to give an account of the life and works of Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Faraj, the author of the above *Ta'rīkh*, but it appears that he was not aware of the existence of another work by the same author, styled *Ādābu'l-Mulūk wa Kifāyatu'l-Mamlūk* in Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library* (column 1493), and named *Ādābu'l-Ḥarb wa'sh-Shujā'a* in Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (vol. ii, p. 487). This work was composed about A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210–11) and dedicated to the reigning Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Īltutmish (f. 4*a*),[1] who ruled at Delhi from A.H. 607 to 633 (A.D. 1210–35).

The author makes frequent references to himself and his family in the body of this work. He traces his genealogy to Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq on his father's side, and to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna through his great-grandmother, who was a princess of the Ghaznawid house (f. 75*a*). On f. 28*b* he says that his great-grandfather, Abu'l-Faraj, was a friend and wazīr of the Ghaznawid Sulṭān Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm (A.H. 451–92, A.D. 1059–98), that he had been brought up with him, and that he had accompanied the Sulṭān to the fort of Nā'ī, probably during the period of his confinement in that fort prior to his accession to the throne.

[1] All references are to the India Office M.S. of Ādābu 'l-Mulūk.

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The brief note about the life of this author given by Rieu (vol. ii, p. 488) is incorrect and misleading. The date of his death is not known with certainty. Sir E. Denison Ross gives A.H. 602 (A.D. 1205) on the authority of Ibnu'l-Athīr (see *'Ajab Nāmah*, p. 393), but this is incorrect in view of the fact that the *Ādāb* was dedicated to Sulṭān Īltutmish, who came to the throne in A.H. 607. As the author was an old man when he composed this work, he must have died some time about this date. A careful study of *Ādābu'l-Mulūk*, I am sure, will reveal some more facts about the life of the author.

M. NAZIM.

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## SOME NOTES ON OSTRAKON A

In the January number of this *Journal* (pp. 107–12) Dr. Cowley published two Aramaic Ostraka with translation and notes. Although the article is short, it shows the masterly hand of the editor of the Assuan Papyri.

The first ostrakon (A.) is very interesting, although the meaning of the contents is not quite clear. Of special interest, it seems to me, is the name of the lady to whom the letter is addressed: קויליה. The first five words read אל אמי קויליה ברכנה שלחת לכי. Dr. Cowley translates: "To my mother Kovelia: a blessing I send to you." On p. 109 Cowley says: "The name seems to be new. It is no doubt Jewish." But "Kovelia" gives no meaning. I suggest that קויליה is to be read קַוִּילְיָה, and means "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God). Cf. Psalm xxvii, v. 14: קַוֵּה אֶל יהוה (twice), and Psalm xxxvii, v. 34: קַוֵּה אֶל יהוה; Proverbs, ch. xx, v. 22: קַוֵּה לַיהוה. See also Isaiah, ch. xxv, v. 9: קִוִּינוּ לוֹ (twice), ch. xxxiii v. 2: לְךָ קִוִּינוּ; also Isaiah viii, 17; Jeremiah xiv, 22; Hosea xii, 7. In the ostrakon the feminine form is used, קַוִּי, because the bearer of the name is a woman. "Ḳavvi-l' Yah," "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God) is a beautiful name. The father, at the birth of the child, exclaims (addressing the

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child): "Trust in Yah." One of the ladies frequently mentioned in the Assuan Papyri was called מבטחיה (daughter of מחסיה). It seems to me that the name קוליה which occurs in Jeremiah, xxix, 21, and Nehemiah xi, 7, and which is usually read קוֹלָיָה, should be read קַוֵּלְיָה. In the masculine form the ה can be omitted; cf. גַּלֶּה, גַּל. The meaning would also be: "Trust in Yah." In Nehemiah xi, 7, the name of the son of קוליה is פדיה, and the name of his father is מעשיה. In Jeremiah xxix, 21, the name of the father of צדקיהו is מעשיה. A similar name is חכליה (the name of the father of Nehemiah, Neh. i, 1, and x, 1), which is to be read חַכַּלְיָה and also means, "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah."

בעל טבתכם, in lines 3–4, it seems to me, is not "a friend of you", but "your benefactor", "one who has done you good (a good deed, good deeds)". In late Hebrew (up to the present day) בעל טובה means "a man who does good deeds", "one ready to help other people", "a benefactor". I think that "your benefactor" ("a friend who has helped you, or helps you") would give a better sense than "a friend of you". It may, indeed, be that בעל טבתכם refers to סחמרי and not to נפנא (see p. 109).

גזר, in l. 9, probably means "he said emphatically". Cf. Rabbinic גזר "to decide", "to make a decree", "to command" (see Levy, *NHWB.*, part i, pp. 319 and 320).

The meaning of lines 9–15 is perhaps this: The writer of the letter desires that his mother should tell נפנא that the people of his household did not act in accordance with his promise (or his instructions).

Interesting are the pure Hebrew words ברכה (l. 1), לחם and קמה (l. 13).

23rd *April*, 1929. SAMUEL DAICHES.

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## THE PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ṚGVEDA X, 129, 5, AND VERSES OF AN ALLIED NATURE[1]

It appears that a complete and convincing interpretation of *Ṛgveda*, x, 129, 5, has not been found so far. The verse has been either regarded as absurd and obscure, and, consequently, given up as an insoluble puzzle, or it has been simply translated with a meagre explanation, of the correctness of which, in most cases, the commentators themselves have not been sure at all. Whitney, in his comments on *Ṛgveda*, x, 129, while referring to this verse, says: "But the next verse is still more unintelligible, no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished."[2] Bloomfield, after having translated the first four verses of the hymn, observes: "The hymn continues with a mystical fifth stanza, which is obscure, and in any case unimportant."[3] More recently Professor Keith, after having explained the significance of the first four verses, calls the fifth "a puzzle".[4] Deussen, Scherman, Ludwig, Oldenberg, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Grassmann, and Bergaigne have translated the verse and offered an explanation, which I shall consider presently.

The verse in question is as follows :—

*Tiraścīno vitáto raśmir eṣām adhaḥ svíd āsīd upari svíd āsīd,*
*Retodhā āsan mahimāna āsant svadhā avastāt prayátiḥ parastāt.*

Before I offer any translation of the above verse, it will be proper to discuss the meaning of such important words in it

[1] I want to acknowledge my thanks to Dr. E. J. Thomas, of the University Library, Cambridge, and Professor F. W. Thomas, of the Oxford University, for having given me an opportunity to discuss the contents of this article with them before it is published in its present form. I am also very much obliged to Dr. E. J. Thomas for his valuable assistance in referring to the German and the French authors during the preparation of this paper.

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xi (1911), cix.

[3] *Religion of the Veda*, p. 238.

[4] *Religion and Phil. of the Veda*, ii, p. 436.

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as *raśmiḥ, eṣām, retodhāḥ, mahimānaḥ, svadhā,* and *prayatiḥ.* It is only by a consistent interpretation of all these terms that a correct rendering of the whole verse can be found. That the language of the verse is metaphorical has been admitted by all the scholars. The question is: "What is the exact metaphor?" Various suggestions have been offered. According to Geldner, who follows Sāyaṇa's commentary on a parallel passage in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, *raśmiḥ* signifies "the inner eye of the highest Ātman", which, like the rays of the sun, spread over the universe.[1] Deussen,[2] and Scherman[3] take the word to mean "the inner eye of the sages", and so, according to them, the verse refers to an effort on the part of the sages to understand the universe. According to Oldenberg and Bergaigne, the word means "the reins of a chariot", and therefore the verse contains the metaphor of a car. Hillebrandt has suggested that *raśmiḥ* signifies an architect's cord, and hence the metaphor employed is that of a building. Ludwig simply translates the word as "cord". Now, while the word *raśmiḥ* has been thus translated variously by the scholars, unfortunately none of them has shown in detail how the metaphors suggested by them are justifiable consistently with the use of such other important words in the verse as *retodhāḥ, mahimānaḥ, svadhā,* and *prayatiḥ,* and with the general import of the cosmogonic hymn to which it belongs.

After a very careful comparative study of all the words used in the verse, I venture to suggest that it may be best interpreted in accordance with the many verses in the *Ṛgveda,* which describe the universe as a sacrifice, or as warp and woof, or, again, as both.[4] A study of such verses will show that in some of them there is to be found a double metaphor, that is to say, while the universe is described as a sacrifice, the

[1] *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* ii, p. 213.
[2] *Gesch. der Phil.,* i, 124, 125.
[3] *Phil. Hymnen,* 10.
[4] E.g. *Ṛgveda,* i, 164, 5, 50; x, 90, especially 15 and 16; x, 114, 6–8; x, 130, 1 and 2; also *Atharva,* 1, 5; x, 8, 37 and 38; xiii, 6 and 7.

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sacrifice, in its turn, is described as warp and woof. Consequently, the language of these verses is ambiguous, and contains what in logic would be called analogous terms—words with different and yet similar meanings, so as to be applicable to the various conceptions contained in the metaphors. Illustrations of these will be given presently, but, in order to understand the metaphorical language completely, it is necessary first to see the details of the imagery implied in the metaphors. Let us consider how a sacrificial performance begins and then how it is carried on. It will appear that the first cause of a sacrifice is a desire—*kāma*—on the part of the sacrificer to achieve, by its means, some object, and that this is usually the obtaining of progeny—*prajā*.[1] The next step is to employ the services of competent priests, who prepare the sacrificial altar in accordance with the prescribed measurements and collect the requisite materials. All the arrangements being complete, the performance of the sacrifice begins, and the following items constitute the whole function: (i) the sacrificial altar, and the area around it; (ii) the sacrificers; (iii) the oblation, the articles to be offered; (iv) the fathers, or manes, and gods, who are supposed to be present as recipients of the oblations; (v) the act of offering, which consists of the movements of the hand in picking up the oblations and throwing them into fire by stretching it forward, and also the chanting of the Vedic hymns accompanied with the movements of the hand indicative of the accents in recitation. Now while the metaphor or sacrifice is used to describe the creation and the working of the universe, as we shall see presently, the metaphor of a loom is sometimes employed to describe both the sacrifice and the universe. This metaphor is applicable to sacrifice because of the common idea of preparing a ground for work, outlines, both of the sacrificial area and the warp and woof, formed by the stretching of a

Cf. Bhagavadgītā, iii, 10:—

*Sahayajñāḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā purovāca prajāpatiḥ,*
*Anena prasaviṣyadhvam eṣa vo 'stviṣṭakāmadhuk*

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cord or thread, which are to be filled up as the work progresses, and also because of the similar physical movements, forward and backward, both in the performance of a sacrifice and the working of a loom. Those who have performed a sacrifice, or have seen it performed in the traditional manner, know how the hand of the sacrificer moves forward and backward both in throwing oblation into the fire and in chanting the Vedic hymns. That is why the *Ṛg.* and the Sāma verses have sometimes been spoken of as shuttles. For example, in *Ṛgveda*, x, 130, 1, we find the description of a sacrifice prepared by the spreading of threads by a hundred divine priests: *Yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tata ekaśatam devakarmebhir āyataḥ*, and in it the fathers are said to weave forward and backward: *ime vayanti pitaro ya āyayuḥ pra vayāpavayetyāsate tate.* Further, in the second verse of the same hymn it is said that the Sāma hymns were made the shuttles for the purpose of weaving cloth in the form of a sacrifice: *sāmāni cakrus tasarāṇi otave*, on which Sāyaṇa comments: *otave vayanāya yajñākhyam vastram otum tasarāṇi tiryak sarāṇi tiraścīnasūtrāṇi cakruḥ.*[1] This favourite metaphor of warp and woof, as found in such cosmogonic hymns of the Vedas, has found its way right through the Upaniṣads[2] into the semi-philosophical literature of Indian vernaculars, into popular ballads sung by itinerant Indian mendicants, and by women at work in fields or at the grinding stones.

Now when the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is employed to describe the creation and the working of the universe, the real explanation of the verses containing such an imagery lies in exactly determining the various factors involved in the cosmic sacrifice, or the cosmic loom. The words themselves, for example, even in the verse under discussion, are familiar enough; it is their significance which presents a difficulty. The questions to be answered are: Who are *kavayaḥ*, who are described as stretching a cord or

[1] Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, accepts the other meaning of shuttles also.
[2] *Bṛh.* iii, 8; iv, 2, 4; *Chānd.* vii, 25; *Muṇḍ*, ii, 2, 11.



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threads? What is a cord, or threads, which is said to be stretched or spread out; and what do these threads represent when they are mentioned as seven in number? What is the oblation, and what is the act of offering?

While keeping the above questions in view, I would now take up *Ṛgveda*, x, 129, 5, and i, 164, 5, and show that it is the above-mentioned metaphors which they contain. With regard to the first of these, it is to be noted that it is a verse which belongs to a distinctly cosmogonic hymn. The fact that in the first four verses of the hymn there is no apparent indication of the metaphor of sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is probably the reason why the presence of it in this verse has not been suspected by the commentators. However, it will appear that this metaphorical conception, which is so intimately and frequently associated with the cosmogonic ideas in the Vedas, has not been absent from the mind of the author of this verse, and it is in this fifth verse that it actually finds an expression. In the first place, the name of the seer, which very often forms an index to the theme of a hymn, is significant. It is Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin, the Great Sacrificer, the Lord of Creatures. The idea of sacrifice, and with it the idea of creation, is present in the very name of the seer of the hymn. Further, every single important word of the verse, which fortunately has its parallel in other hymns, clearly shows that this verse is not one all by itself, but that it is akin in meaning to other verses, which distinctly contain the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof. In the preceding verse we find a mention of desire—*kāma*—as the first creative impulse,[1] and in the present one the actual creation of the universe, as the result of that *kāma*, is described. The pronoun *eṣām* in the verse naturally refers to *kavayaḥ* in the preceding one, and means sages or priests. The word *kavi* has been often used in similar hymns for those who stretch a cord or thread. For example, in *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 5, it is said that the *kavis* spread out seven threads for warp and woof—*sapta tantūn vitannire*

[1] *kāmas tad agre samavartata adhi manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt.*

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*kavayo otavā ū*. In *Ṛgveda*, x, 114, 6, we again find the kavis as having prepared (measured) the sacrifice: *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā*. Similarly, in the verse under consideration we have *tiraścīno vitata raśmir eṣām*, and, the word *kavayaḥ* having been used in the preceding verse, there is not the slightest doubt that the pronoun *eṣām* refers to the priests, who are mentioned here in connection with the preparation of sacrifice, just as they are in the texts quoted above. Now the fact that their cord is said to be stretched crosswise both below and above shows that the reference is to the measuring and the making of the outlines of the sacrificial area, just as the stretching of a cord or threads does in some other verses, for example, in x, 130, 1: *yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tataḥ*, and in *Atharva*, xiii, 6: *tatra tantum parameṣṭhī tatān*. The other alternative meanings of *raśmiḥ*, for instance, "the ray of the inner eye," as Geldner, Deussen, and Scherman have suggested; or, again, as "the reins of a chariot", as Oldenberg and Bergaigne have interpreted, do not evidently suit the context, for the other words in the verse, as we shall see presently, conclusively show that it is the metaphor of a sacrifice that has been employed here. The fact that the *raśmiḥ* is said to be stretched crosswise, and that the verse contains a reference to above and below, renders it impossible that the ray of the eye is meant, for a ray of the eye cast crosswise would not see the contrast of above and below. Similarly, there is not the slightest trace in the verse of the idea of a chariot, which is usually mentioned when it is meant. The idea of an architect's cord, as Hillebrandt has suggested, would not be out of place in this particular verse, but it is to be remembered that the metaphor employed is that of the preparation of a sacrificial altar, and not that of a building, and that the outlines marked by the stretching of the cord present the appearance of warp and woof, and thus the metaphor of a loom is also implied. What sense would *retodhāḥ*, *mahimānaḥ*, *svadhā*, and *prayatiḥ* make if the metaphor of a building is supposed to be present here?

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On the other hand, it will be presently seen that these terms admit of quite a consistent interpretation in accordance with the metaphor of a sacrifice. Having said in the first line of the verse that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord for marking the outlines, it is stated in the next line that fathers (*retodhāḥ*) and gods (*mahimānaḥ*) were present there, as they are believed to be at a sacrifice. That *retodhāḥ* means "impregnators" or "fathers" no one would question. The word *mahimānaḥ* has been used in several other verses of the *Ṛgveda*,[1] and it either means "mighty forces" in the abstract, or "gods" in the concrete. However, its use in *Ṛgveda*, x, 114, 7, distinctly in connection with the idea of sacrifice, is significant for our purpose. The text is: *caturdaśa anye mahimāno 'sya tam dhīrāḥ vācā praṇayanti sapta*, which is thus interpreted by Sāyaṇa: *asya yajñarūpasya paramātmano 'nye caturdaśa saṃkhyākāḥ mahimāno vibhūtayaḥ bhavanti*, etc. That *asya* here refers to sacrifice is beyond doubt, for we have the very word *yajña* in the immediately preceding verse: *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā* (x, 114, 7, 6), where the other words also are equally interesting and suggestive for their parellelism in language and meaning. In *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 50, we find *mahimānaḥ*, evidently in the sense of gods: *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sacanta*, and this has been repeated in *Ṛgveda*, x, 90, 16, where, again, the metaphor of a sacrifice is distinctly present. So these references establish beyond doubt that the word *mahimānaḥ* has significance in connection with the idea of a sacrifice, and that it means gods; for even when it has an abstract meaning the large number, which is mentioned in connection with it, strongly suggests that it is the gods that are meant. A mention of the presence of fathers and gods is the most natural thing in the description of a sacrifice, and the same we find here. Next follows *svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt*, which phrases have presented the greatest difficulty to the commentators, and it is only vague

[1] For example, i, 164, 50; x, 90, 16; x, 114, 7 and 8.

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translations of the words that have been given, the greatest pity being that even Sāyaṇa, who has rightly interpreted the words in connection with sacrificial conceptions elsewhere, has missed the exact metaphor here, although he sees the sense of passivity in *svadhā*, and that of "activity" in *prayatiḥ*, when he interprets them as "the objects to be enjoyed" (*bhogyāḥ*) and "the enjoyers" (*bhoktāraḥ*) respectively. Now *svadhā*, which has been used elsewhere also, and is quite a familiar word in connection with a sacrifice, usually means either oblation, especially that of Soma, or the utterance at a sacrifice called *svadhākāra*. In *Ṛgveda*, ix, 113, 10, we have *svadhā ca yatra triptiśca*, where Sāyaṇa translates *svadhā* as *annam, svadhākāreṇa vā dattam annam*. So there is no difficulty in interpreting the word, in the present verse also, in the sense of oblation. The other word is *prayatiḥ*, which is used in two other verses of the *Ṛgveda*, i, 109, 2, and i, 126, 5, and means "offering", which word I choose for translating it in order to express the sense of activity or action implied in it, and to distinguish it from *svadhā*, which has the sense of passivity. Thus, while *svadhā* would mean "the objects offered", or "to be offered", *prayatiḥ* would signify "the act of offering". In *Ṛgveda*, i, 109, 2, we have *athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām indrāgnī stomam janayāmi navyam*, where *prayatiḥ* is used in the dual number, and has been translated by Sāyaṇa as "the act of offering", *somasya prayatī abhiṣutasya somasya pradānena*. This use of *prayatiḥ* in the two verses would lend support to the view that the word, as used in the verse under consideration, is derived from the root *yat* and not from *yam* as Oldenberg would have it. Thus the fourth part of the verse means that the oblation was below, that is to say, it was placed upon the ground, and the act of offering was above, that is to say, it was carried on above (the sacrificial ground). This also explains the meaning of "stretching forth" or "effort" implied in the word *prayatiḥ*, which has been noticed by some scholars [1] but has remained

[1] Cf. Whitney, *JAOS*. xi (1911), cix.

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unexplained so far. With regard to the meaning of *avastāt* and *parastāt* there cannot be any difference of opinion, and so they need not be discussed here.

The meaning of the verse as a whole, in its metaphorical sense, would thus be that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord crosswise, both below and above; that fathers and gods were present there; and that while the oblation was placed on the sacrificial ground, the act of offering was carried on above.[1] This, it will be found, makes a complete description of a sacrificial performance.

The next thing to be considered is the cosmogonic significance of the metaphor. Who are the kavis in the cosmic sacrifice? What does the stretching of the cord stand for? What are *svadhā* and *prayatiḥ* with reference to the universe?

The first point is about the identity of the kavis, who, here, and in *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 5, are said to spread a cord and threads, respectively. In this particular verse we find a mention of above and below in connection with the stretching of the cord, and in the other seven threads are said to have been stretched by the kavis for warp and woof. The number of kavis is not mentioned here. Now, by a very careful and comparative study of these and the other verses, where there is a reference to kavis, I have come to the conclusion that the word, as used in these verses, denotes the Ṛbhus. I do not know of any other alternative interpretation, and so I shall simply give reasons in support of my own. *Firstly*, the Ṛbhus have been distinctly referred to as kavis in *Atharva*, vi, 47, 6: *idam tṛtīyam savanam kavīnām ṛtena ye camasam airayanta*, where Sāyaṇa rightly comments: *tṛtīyam savanākhyam karma kavīnam krāntadarśanānām ṛbhūṇām svabhūtam ta eva indrādibhiḥ sahitās tasya savanasya adhidevatāḥ*. In *Ṛgveda*, iv, 35, 4, their work is referred to as that of kavis: *kim mayaḥ sviccamasa eṣa āsa yam kāvyena caturo vicakra*. The fact that

[1] The prose order of the verse will be as follows: *Eṣām tiraścīno vitato raśmiḥ adhaḥ svid āsīd, upari svid āsīd; retodhaḥ āsan, mahimānaḥ āsan; svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt.*

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the Ṛbhus are regarded as skilful workmen rightly entitles them to the title of *kavi*, and we find that it has actually been used for them in the above verses. *Secondly*, in *Ṛgveda*, iv, 34, 9, the Ṛbhus are described as dividing the universe into the heaven and the earth: *ye ṛdhag rodasī*, which, according to Sāyaṇa, means *ye ca rodasī dyāvāpṛthivyāvṛdhak pṛthak cakruḥ*, "those who separated the heaven and the earth," and this conception accords so well with the description of the above and below in the verse under consideration. Evidently the reference to above and below signifies the division of the world into the heaven and the earth. *Thirdly*, the Ṛbhus have also been called the fashioners of a sacrifice in *Ṛgveda*, iii, 54, 12, *adhvaram ataṣṭha*, which, according to Sāyaṇa, means *ṛtvijaḥ imam asmadīyam adhvaram ataṣṭha akurvan*, and thus it will appear that the name *kavayaḥ*, as applied to the Ṛbhus, would be suitable both with reference to the preparing of a sacrifice and the dividing of the earth and the heaven.

The next question is the cosmological significance of the stretching of a cord or threads, *raśmiḥ* or *tantuḥ*, the tantus being sometimes mentioned as seven in number, as in *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 5. It is clear that in the metaphors both of sacrifice and warp and woof the idea meant to be expressed by the stretching of a cord and threads is the preparation of outlines, which are to be filled up as the work progresses. The question is: What do these outlines mean with reference to the universe? The explanation of this metaphor occurred to me as I was reading that little dialogue between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, in which she asks him a question in words, which forthwith remind one of such hymns of the *Ṛgveda* as we have been considering here. She asks: *yad ūrdhvam Yājñavalkya divo yadavāk pṛthivyā yadantarā dyāvā pṛthivī ime yad bhūtam ca bhavacca bhavisyaccetyācakṣate kasmins tadotam ca protam ceti*, "O, Yājñavalkya, that which is above the sky, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between the two, the sky and the earth, these which the people call the past, the present,

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and the future, across what is that woven warp and woof?" Yājñavalkya says in answer that it is space across which all this is woven warp and woof; and on being asked further as to across what space is woven, in its turn, he says that it is woven across the Imperishable—*akṣara*. Now these questions and answers clearly show that it is the divisions of time and space that form the warp and woof of the world, and these ultimately depend upon the self, which is the uniting factor. The seven threads which are mentioned as stretched for warp and woof, would thus appear to signify these same distinctions, viz. the three divisions of place : above, middle, and below; and the three divisions of time: past, present and future; and space; the distinctions of time being also evidently conceived in terms of spatial imagery. This very conception is to be found distinctly also in *Atharva*, x, 8, 37 and 38, the language of which is so suggestive and parallel to the texts of the verses that we have been considering, and to that of the dialogue, that I would be justified in quoting them here *in toto*. The verses are as follows :—

*Yo vidyāt sūtram vitatam yasminn otāḥ prajā imāḥ,*
*Sūtram sūtrasya yo vidyāt sa vidyāt Brāhmaṇam mahat.*

*Vedāham sūtram vitatam yasminn otāḥ prajā imāḥ,*
*Sūtram sūtrasyāham veda atho yad Brāhmaṇam mahat.*

Translation :—

"One who would know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven; one who would know the thread of this thread, it is he who would know the great Brāhmaṇa."

"I know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven, I know the thread of this thread, hence (I know) that which is great Brāhmaṇa."

Thus it will be seen that the stretching of the thread represents the warp and woof of the universe, and this, in its turn, signifies the divisions of time and space, in which all the beings live, move, and have their being. In *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 5, the seven threads of warp and woof refer to all these

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distinctions, and in *Ṛgveda*, x, 129, 5, the stretching of the cord evidently refers to the divisions of space, the metaphor being employed only partially in order to suit the other metaphor of sacrifice, where only the dimensions of space are relevant.

The first line of the verse will therefore mean that space was divided into the upper and the lower regions—the heaven and the earth.[1]

The words *retodhāḥ* and *mahimānaḥ*, as has been shown, mean fathers and gods respectively; and this meaning will hold good with reference to both a sacrifice and the universe. It may be noted, however, that the word *retodhāḥ* has been several times used in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of rain, *parjanyaḥ*,[2] which has been compared for its productive energy to a bull. The meaning, however, of a generating agency remains unchanged. So it is said in the verse that there were fathers and gods.

Lastly, there is said to be *svadhā* below and *prayatiḥ* above. In the cosmological sense, *svadhā* would stand for the products of nature, especially water and other juices corresponding to the Soma drink in a sacrifice, which the word usually signifies; and *prayatiḥ* for the atmospheric activity of the heavenly bodies. In *Ṛgveda*, iii, 22, 3, and iii, 55, 6, *Agni* has been addressed as the sun in the upper regions (*parastāt*), and the same conception is repeated in Śatapatha, vii, 1, 23, where it is said: *agne yat te divi varca iti, ādityo vā śya divi varcaḥ*, "O, Agni, what splendour is thine in the heaven—his splendour in the heaven doubtless is the sun." In *Śatapatha*, vii, 1, 22, we have the following significant passage: "This is the Agni wherein Indra taketh the Soma juice, for the Gārhapatya hearth is this (terrestrial) world, and the Soma juice is the waters: Indra thus took up the waters in this world;—into his belly, craving it,—for the belly is the

[1] Cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, p. 436.
[2] E.g. v, 69, 2, and vii, 103, 6.

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centre."[1] In *Śatapatha*, vii, 1, 24, also we find a mention of the waters approaching the fire. The idea in all such passages seems to be that like the Soma juice drunk up by Indra, the waters and juices on the earth are absorbed up by the heat of the sun. The return of the same to the earth in the form of rain would complete the act of cosmic sacrifice, but I have not been able to trace definitely an expression of this last conception in any of the hymns, although we know that the sending down of waters is not outside the sphere of Indra's activities. In this connection the text of the *Śatapatha* quoted above is very suggestive, for it says that the Gārhapatya hearth is this terrestrial world, and the Soma juice is the waters, and that Indra took up the waters in this world.

The cosmological meaning of the whole verse will, therefore, be that the world was divided into the heaven and the earth; there were fathers and gods; the nature was below, and the atmospheric forces were above.

As regards Deussen's suggestion that, in the first line of the verse, a mention of the stretching of the cord indicates a perception by the seers of the division of reality into the phenomenal (which is above), and the real (which is below)—a distinction so well-known in the philosophy of the German philosopher Kant—I would say that it is extremely improbable that this notion was present in the mind of the author of the verse, for it is neither consistent with the context of the next line of the verse, nor with that of this particular hymn, nor, again, with the usual conceptions of cosmogony as found in the other hymns of the Vedas.

Sāyaṇa's explanation is no more convincing. He takes *raśmiḥ* to mean the created universe, *kāryavargaḥ*, and says that it was spread out so quickly like the rays of the rising sun that it could not be determined which portion of the universe was created first, and hence the query: "Was it

[1] Eggeling's translation (*SBE.*).

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in the middle, below, or above?"[1] *Eṣām* he explains as *avidyā-kāma-karmaṇām*, "of those whose action was prompted by ignorance and desire." Further, according to him, *retodhāḥ* means "souls, the enjoyers", and *mahimānaḥ* the "objects to be enjoyed". *Svadhā*, according to him, signifies eatable things, *annam*, it being symbolic of the objects to be enjoyed; and these are called inferior (*avastāt*), as distinguished from the enjoyers, *prayatiḥ*, who are superior (*parastāt*). Now, on reading Sāyaṇa's commentary, one cannot help wondering how he could possibly translate the above-mentioned words in the way he has done. It is evident that while commenting upon this verse he has not taken into consideration the parallel use of the various words in the other verses, and has been carried away by the conceptions of the enjoyer and the enjoyed as they are to be prominently found in the later philosophical literature. The translation of *avastāt* as "inferior" and of *parastāt* as "superior" will be seen to be altogether out of place here, as certainly there is no indication in the verse, or in the hymn, that the notion of such a contrast could have been present in the mind of its author.

JWALA PRASAD.

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## VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS

"He who knows something ought to reveal it. Knowledge kept out of sight is of no value."—VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS.

Virgilius Cordubensis is the name of a philosopher and necromancer of Cordova, whose work, *Philosophia*, is claimed to have been translated from Arabic into Latin at Toledo in the year 1290.[2] Nothing is known of this author outside the above work, and very little attention has been accorded

[1] It might be noted here that the word *svid* used by itself does not always imply a query. It also means "verily" or "indeed".

[2] The text of the *Philosophia* reads: "Istum librum composuit Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis in Arabico, et fuit translatus de Arabico in Latinum in civitate Toletana, A.D. 1290."

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it. In the eighteenth century Feijoo,[1] Sarmiento,[2] and Andrés[3] were interested in the *Philosophia*, but it was not until the text was edited by Gotthold Heine in 1848[4] that serious notice was paid to it. Valentine Rose,[5] Comparetti,[6] and Bonilla[7] have dealt with the work since then, and the two latter have challenged its authenticity. It is in view of their criticism that the present writer ventures to take the advice of Virgilius Cordubensis himself by testing the validity of their strictures.

The earliest codex of the *Philosophia* is in the library of the Cathedral at Toledo, and dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. Taking the work at its face value, that it was translated into Latin in the year 1290 at Toledo, it would appear that the original Arabic work must have been written prior to the capture of Toledo by the Christians in 1085, seeing that the treatise refers to students from Morocco (*Marochitani*) studying there,[8] and also because quite half of the names of the *magistri* in astrology, necromancy, and similar arts, are of Arabian origin.

Comparetti urges that the translator could not have been a Moor, and that he certainly did not know much about Arabic or he would not have called his Arab author Virgilius and made him a contemporary of Seneca, Avicenna, Averroës, and Al-Ghazālī.[9] He suggests that the author was a charlatan

[1] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, lvi, 379–81.
[2] *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesia castellana*, i, 252.
[3] *Dell' origine e progressi e dello stato attuale d'ogni letteratura.*
[4] *Bibliotheca anecdotorum*, Leipsic, 1848.
[5] *Hermes*, viii, 327.
[6] *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1872).
[7] *Historia de la Filosofía Española* (1908).
[8] The *Marochitani* are usually mentioned with those from "beyond the seas" (*ultramarini*), and they are distinct from the *Saraceni*, who appear to be the Arab philosophers from the East, as again distinct from those of Al-Andalus proper (*Andalici*).
[9] Virgilius says: "Isti erant philosophi et magistri Hispaniae . . . Chartaginenses erant septem, Cordubenses erant quinque, scilicet nos Virgilius et Seneca et Avicena et Aben Royz et Algacel. . . . Omnes isti philosophi erant tempore nostro conjuncti in studio Cordubensi et aliqui legebant de suis scientiis et aliqui non." Heine, 241.

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who took the name of Virgilius and simulated Arabian learning in order to be looked upon as an authority. Comparetti even takes Amador de los Rios to task for accepting what he calls the "fabulous notices" of Virgilius concerning the professors of the *ars notaria*, necromancy, etc. Further, he gives the opinion of the Orientalist, Moritz Steinschneider, communicated to him privately, that he had doubts whether the work was earlier than Raimond de Pennaforte (fl. 1232).[1]

Bonilla, who gives extracts from Virgilius, suggests that the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic who was influenced by the writings of Michael Scot (d. *c.* 1232), and indicates a similar type of literature in such works as *Sendebar*, *Flores de Filosophia*, and *Libro de los Doze Sabios*.[2]

These objections to the authenticity of the *Philosophia* of Virgilius Cordubensis cannot be passed over lightly, although care has to be exercised in not taking too much for granted. First of all, it must be remembered that Comparetti is dealing with the legendary material which became attached to the name of Publius Virgilius Maro, the poet (d. 19 B.C.), and he looks upon the *Philosophia* of the later Virgilius Cordubensis as an outcome of that legend. On the other hand, is it not equally probable that the *Philosophia*, instead of being the production of a charlatan trading on the name of the legendary necromantic Virgilius Maro, and the obsession for Arabian "learning", is rather a work of independent origin which simply contributed to give further vitality to the legend? Do we not see a similar sort of thing in the case of Bishop Virgilius of Salzburg (d. 784), whose somewhat extraordinary opinions also appear to have become attached to the name of Virgilius Maro, and also contributed to the legend?

Comparetti's criticism that the translator was not a Moor does not touch the question at all. Nearly all the translators

[1] Comparetti, ii, 95–6.
[2] Bonilla y San Martin, i, 309.

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from Arabic into Latin were Europeans racially.[1] That the translator should call the author Virgilius, a purely Latin name, does not, in itself, allow us to question his knowledge of Arabic. To do this we require to know what the original name was in Arabic, how the original translator rendered it, and what are the copyists' variations. There is no reason for supposing that an Arabic original is unlikely, seeing that we have the example of Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq being Latinized as Æneas, to say nothing of Faraj ibn Sālim appearing as Faragut, with Farachi, Fararius, Ferrarius, and Franchinus as variations.

The arguments based on the so-called "contemporaries" of Virgilius Cordubensis are more cogent. Only Seneca (d. 65) and Averroës (d. 1198) were Cordobans, whilst neither Avicenna (d. 1037) nor Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) ever saw Spain. Needless to say, an Arab author could not have penned these lines about his "contemporaries", and similarly, if the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, as Bonilla suggests, what about the inclusion of Seneca? Is not the passage a mere gloss that has crept into the text?[2] If the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, he certainly managed to keep his religion out of the *Philosophia* with an astuteness that does not comport with his inept inclusion of Seneca.

Certainly no Arabic original of the *Philosophia* is known to us, but the same objection could be urged against dozens of Latin works translated from the Arabic. Toledo was long famous as the seat of Arabian science, undoubtedly from the time of the Amīr Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn (d. 1074), through the period of Archbishop Raymund (fl. 1125–51), to Alphonso X (1252–84), and even later. Would it have been possible to

[1] The one outstanding name to the contrary is that of the Jew, Faraj ibn Sālim.

[2] An ignorant Latin glossator and a later scribe might very well have been jointly responsible for the "contemporaries". Batman (*Batman uppon Bartholome*, London, 1582) says that Avicenna lived in Spain, and that he belonged to the twelfth century! Latin authors also considered Al-Rāzī (Rhazes) to be a Roman!

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have palmed off a spurious work with learned Arabs and Jews on the spot only too eager to detect the fraud? At any rate, whether the *Philosophia* is genuine or not, the criticisms of Comparetti and Bonilla do not shake its authenticity to any extent. Certainly the philosophy of Virgilius Cordubensis comes from Arabic and Rabbinic sources, and his work can scarcely be classed in the same category as those indicated by Bonilla.

H. G. FARMER.

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## ET DE QUIBUSDAM ALIIS

(1) Hindi, Urdu *bhăī* and *bhāī*, Pj. *văī* or *v̥ăī* and *p̥āī* or *pr̥ā*. The words *bhăī* and *văī* differ widely from *bhāī* and *pr̥ā*, but I do not think the difference has ever been pointed out. *bhāī* and *pr̥ā* mean brother or cousin, and include, of course, brother in trade, nation, or religion. *bhăī* and *văī*, on the other hand have nothing to do with brother; they are not even confined to males. The two Pj. words do not resemble each other in sound. *bhăī* and *văī* mean my good fellow, my good woman, my good man. They are constantly used by husband to wife, by master or mistress to servant, by parents to children, by friend to friend. They imply familiarity, and suggest that the person spoken to is inferior, or at least not superior, in rank. A servant would not use it to a master or a wife to a husband.

*bhăī* and *văī* do not take the stress though they can begin a sentence. Of particular interest is the difference of initial letter in Pj. *p̥āī* or *pr̥ā* and *văī* or *v̥ăī*. In Pj. it is generally enclitic, and therefore the initial Sk. *bh* becomes not *p̥* as for *bh-*, but *v̥* or *v*. The change of *v̥* to *v* is due to absence of stress.

(2) Platt's Dictionary gives the word *hilnā* two meanings, "shake" and "become familiar". I would make the suggestion that they should be given as separate words.

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*hil-* " shake " used to be *hal-*. Thus Mīr Aṣar, writing in 1740, makes *halnā* rhyme with *calnā*. In Dakani Urdu to-day the word is *halnā*, and in Pj. it is *hallṇã*, or *ˌallăṇã*. The other word always has *i*, and in Pj. has a cerebral *ḷ*, *ˌiḷṇã* " become accustomed " or " familiar."

(3) Pj. *ˌall* and *ˌaḷ*. Unfortunately both the large Pj. dictionaries fail to distinguish *l* from *ḷ*; they thus obscure many interesting differences. Thus *ˌall* " a plough ", plur. *ˌallã* (Sk. *halya*), is fem. and has alveolar *l*: *ˌaḷ* " a yoke " (of ploughing oxen) (Sk. *hala-*), is masc. and has cerebral *ḷ*.

*dũ' ˌaḷã dā khũ'* is a well with enough land for two pairs of oxen to plough. The word for ploughman (Sk. *hālika-*) is like this second word. It is *ˌāḷī*, not *ˌālī* or *ˌāllī*. The verb to plough is *ˌaḷ vã'ṇã*, not *ˌall vã'ṇã*.

## (4) Phonetics

### (*a*) *The word* " *Ṣiṇā* "

I have always written the word in this way, feeling that the pronunciation *shĭnā'* was the best approximation for a European. It is perhaps advisable, in the interests of accuracy, to indicate the exact pronunciation. The chief thing to avoid is *sheena* (*shīnā*). The *i* is a retracted variety of the *ī* heard in long syllables in Urdu, Pj., and Ṣiṇā. It is almost the Russian [ɨ] in [bɨtʲ] " to be "; more advanced than the normal Russian sound, and is quite short.

*ṣ* is a retracted *sh*, slightly further back than the *sh* element in English " try ". *ṇ* is an ordinary cerebral *ṇ* with strike point behind the teeth ridge.

### (*b*) *The Prefixes* pre- *and* post- *in Phonetics*

These prefixes are common in words like prepalatal, post-dental, postalveolar, and would be useful if there were agreement about their meaning. Unfortunately they are used in two mutually contradictory senses, and every writer assumes that his own meaning is attached to them by others. The

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question is whether, e.g., prepalatal is a subdivision of palatal or not. I use prepalatal to mean "in front of the palate", not "on the anterior part of the palate"; and postalveolar to mean "behind the alveolar position", not "on the posterior part" of it. This seems to me to correspond with the medical use of pre- and post-, and to be correct. So "prechristian" means not in the early part of the Christian era, but *before* the Christian era. One or two authors, however, employ the prefixes in the contrary sense. My object in writing this note is not to insist on my opinion, but to mention the two meanings and to point out that owing to the confusion, unless we define our terms, we shall not be understood.

### (c) *Comparison of Sounds in Different Languages*

In describing an unwritten language we often have to compare its sounds with those of a written one, but we must avoid comparing things which are on different planes. If I compare Urdu or Panjabi words and sounds with those of, say, Lahndī or Ṣiṇā, I must not compare written words with unwritten sounds unless I am quite certain of the pronunciation represented by the former.

The writing of Indian languages, whether in their own character or in Roman letters, is not phonetic. Thus we are told that in Urdu *ă* is pronounced like *u* in "but". Actually that is one out of seven pronunciations, all perfectly common, viz. approximately the vowel sounds in (1) far, (2) bang, (3) attempt (first vowel), (4) gone, (5) men, (6) but, and (7) complete omission. The same speaker will habitually employ the whole seven. Yet people talk of *the* sound of *ă*.

Again, Urdu speakers will say *vo hātī mere sāt sāt āĕā* "that elephant came with me", but the omission of an aspirate in an unwritten language is treated as something remarkable.

When we say, as I have done myself, that the vowels of certain unwritten languages vary a great deal, we must not suggest that the fact is unusual, or forget how much variation (concealed by fixed spelling) there is in the



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pronunciation of vowels in the literary languages of India; and if we compare them we must compare actual sounds in both cases. There is a surprising amount of confusion about the sounds of well-known languages, and the pronunciation of many words is very different from what is supposed.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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## MIDDLE INDIAN -ḍ- > -ṛ- IN VILLAGE KAŚMĪRĪ

When thirty years ago, in the summer of 1898, I began to study Kaśmīrī in a lovely village 20 miles from Srīnagar, my teacher being a city Muḥammadan, I noticed that in certain words he used *r*, while the villagers regularly said *ṛ*, as *gur*, *guṛ* "horse"; *yūr*, *yūṛ* "hither"; while in others both alike said *r*, as *karun* "do"; *vāra vāra* "carefully". There was no variation in this usage; a villager never by accident put *r* into a word with *ṛ*. Subsequent visits to Kaśmīr confirmed not only the fact of diversity between city and village, but also the regularity of it.

In the *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, 1925, Professor R. L. Turner, following up some statements of mine in *Bull. S.O.S.*, iii, 2, 382, suggests that MI -ḍ- > -ṛ- in village Kaśmīrī. In support of this opinion, with which I entirely agree, I submit a list of words taken from the village language. In only two of them do we find an unexpected *r*; both these are connected with cooking, doubtless loanwords from Brahmans: *krāy* "cauldron", Pj. *kaṛā'ī*: *krūtsh* "spoon", Pj. *kaṛchā*.

Noteworthy is *kaṛun* "eject", in which we have a cerebral as we expect, but, contrary to rule, it is *ṛ* instead of *ḍ*.

In *khūr*$^{ū}$ "heel" we expect *r*, for we have it Pj., Lahndī, and Ṣiṇā, but we might easily have got *ṛ* from the other root. In view of the *r* in *harun* "fall", we must either reconsider the tentative equation of *harun* with H. *saṛnā*, or conclude that it is a loanword.

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For "myrrh" the *Kaśmīrī Dictionary*, edited by Sir George Grierson, gives (but with a question mark) the strange word *muṛ*—strange because the Paṇḍits cannot say *ṛ*; moreover, villagers say *mūr*. As the word is Hebrew, *r* is natural.

The subjoined list is a good example of the distinction between loanwords and words regularly developed. It is a mere matter of majority. Here we have over forty words in which an anticipated *ṛ* is found, and only two with an unexpected *r*. The necessary conclusion is that the forty represent the rule, and that the two are loanwords.

In order that this list should not depend on my assertion alone I sent most of it to Professor Siddheśvar Varma, asking him to check it with village Muḥammadan Kaśmīrīs. This he has been so kind as to do.

All these words have a special interest; they illustrate well what I said about *ṛ* in this dialect, and incidentally help us with etymologies, as in the case of *harun* "fall".

The four adverbs of place deserve attention. The *-ṛ-* which appears in all of them may not be Sk., but it has several parallels.

| | where? | where | here | there | yonder |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kś | *kōṛ* | | *yūṛ* | *tōṛ* | *ōṛ* |
| Sāsī | *kaṛe* | *jaṛe* | *ēṭṭhī* | *ōṭṭhī* | |
| Bhadravāhī | *kōṛī* | *zaṛī* | | | |
| Bhaḷesī | *kŏṛe* | *dzĕṛe* | | | |
| Pāḍarī | *kōṛ* | *zāṛ* | | | |
| Curāhī | *kōṛe* | *jĕṛe* | | | |
| Pj. | | | | *tōṛ* "up to there", "up to the end". | |

The *Dictionary* gives some *ḍ* forms, generally as village alternatives. I have put them in brackets with the initial D. Villagers do not use *ḍ* in these words, but Paṇḍits often think they do. It would be useful to make an exhaustive list of village *-ṛ-* words. It is important to realize that they mark a definite dialectic variation, and are perfectly regular.

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| Village Kaśmīrī | Panjabi |
|---|---|
| *bigaṛun*, be spoilt | *vigaṛnā* |
| *bigāṛun*, spoil | *vagāṛnā* |
| *bīṛ*, crowd | *p.īṛ* |
| *brôṛ*$^{u}$, cat | *billā* |
| *byôṛ*$^{u}$, cat | |
| *chēṛun*, annoy | *cheṛnā* |
| *chiṛkāvun*, sprinkle | *chiṛakṇā* |
| *chōṛun*, leave | H. *choṛnā* |
| *döṛ*$^{ü}$, beard | *dāṛ'ī* |
| *doṛ*$^{ü}$, firm | |
| *gaṛun*, fashion (D. *gaḍun*) | *k.aṛnā* |
| *gōṛ*, sugar | *guṛ* |
| *güṛ*, pakkā | |
| *guṛ*$^{u}$, horse | *k.oṛā* |
| *guṛ*$^{ü}$, mare (D. *guḍ*$^{ü}$) | *k.oṛī* |
| *güṛ*$^{ü}$, clock | *k.aṛī* |
| *gūṛ*, kaccā | |
| *gagṛā*, thunder | |
| *hagoṛ*$^{u}$, cart | *chakṛā* |
| *hāṛ*, June-July | *.āṛ'* |
| *oṛa*, pair, etc. | *joṛā* |
| *jūṛ*$^{i}$, do | *joṛī* |
| *kapuṛ*, cloth | *kapṛā* |
| *kaṛun*, eject | *kaḍḍ'ṇā* |
| *kāṛun*, boil | *kāṛ'nā* |
| *kŏkuṛ*, cock | *kukkaṛ* |
| *koṛ*$^{u}$, bracelet | *kaṛā* |
| *kōṛ*, whither | |

| Village Kaśmīrī | Panjabi |
|---|---|
| *kūṛ*$^{ü}$, girl | *kuṛī* |
| *laṛ*, thread | *laṛ* |
| *laṛun*, fight | *laṛnā* |
| *laṛöy*$^{i}$, fight (D. *laḍöy*$^{i}$) | *laṛāī* |
| *lāṛun*, run | |
| *lāṛun*, stain | |
| *lūṛ*$^{ü}$, club | *lauṛā* |
| *miṛ*$^{u}$, dovecot | H. *maṭh* |
| *mūṛ*, foolish | H. *mūṛh* |
| *moṛ*$^{u}$, body (D. *moḍ*$^{u}$) | |
| *mūṛun*, husk | |
| *ōṛ*, thither | |
| *paṛun*, read | *paṛ'nā* |
| *śuṛ*, boy | |
| *thüṛ*$^{ü}$, back | |
| *tōṛ*, thither | *tōṛ* |
| *tshāṛun*, seek (D. *tshāḍun*) | |
| *tsüṛ*$^{ü}$, bird | *ciṛī* |
| *yūṛ*, hither | |

LOANWORDS

| | |
|---|---|
| *krāy*, cauldron | *kaṛā'ī* |
| *krūtsh*, ladle | *kaṛchā* |

Other words with *r* (not *ṛ*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *khūr*$^{ü}$, heel | *khur* |
| *harun*, fall | |
| *mūr*, myrrh | *mur* |

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

SADDANĪTI. La Grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa. Texte établi par HELMER SMITH. I. Padamālā (Pariccheda [illegible]) [illegible] + 314. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928.

## ERRATA, p. 608

for *miṛ*$^{u}$, dovecot, read *mōṛ*$^{u}$.

delete *doṛ*$^{ü}$, firm; *mūṛun*, husk. I am not certain of them.—T. G. B.

[*To face p.* 608.

few contributions—chiefly by Childers and Franke—towards our knowledge of the *Saddanīti* "laissaient entrevoir", to quote the *propria verba* of the learned editor, "les traits caractéristiques d'un Cours complet de Pali, plus riche en faits que l'adaptation un peu naïve du Kātantra qui porte le nom de Kaccāyana, plus facile à interpréter et à contrôler que l'élégant *śāstra*, à l'instar du Candravyākaraṇa, où Moggallāna a consigné les résultats philologiques de son siècle." Such, then, were the expectations evoked even by fairly scanty notices concerning this admirable work; and they have been abundantly fulfilled by the issue of Dr. Smith's first volume of the *Saddanīti*.

Of the editor's critical faculties, of his immense patience and carefulness nothing need be said here. They, as well as his astounding learning and wonderful mastership of Pali, Sanskrit, and other languages with which he has busied himself, are too well known to be commented upon in this connection. It has been suggested quite recently, in a review of this very book, that we have here before us perhaps the best edition of a Pali work hitherto issued. Superlatives

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| Village Kaśmīrī | Panjabi | Village Kaśmīrī | Panjabi |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bigaṛun*, be spoilt | *vigaṛnā* | *kūṛ*$^{ü}$, girl | *kuṛī* |
| *bigāṛun*, spoil | *vagāṛnā* | *laṛ*, thread | *laṛ* |
| *bīṛ*, crowd | *pīṛ* | *laṛun*, fight | *laṛnā* |
| *brôṛ*$^{u}$, cat | *billā* | *laṛöy*$^{i}$, fight | *laṛāi* |
| *guṛ*$^{u}$, horse | *koṛā* | *śuṛ*, boy | |
| *guṛ*$^{ü}$, mare | *koṛī* | *thüṛ*$^{ü}$, back | |
| (D. *guḍ*$^{ü}$) | | *tōṛ*, thither | *tōṛ* |
| *güṛ*$^{ü}$, clock | *kaṛī* | *tshāṛun*, seek | |
| *gūṛ*, kaccā | | (D. *tshāḍun*) | |
| *gagṛā*, thunder | | *tsüṛ*$^{ü}$, bird | *ciṛī* |
| *hagoṛ*$^{u}$, cart | *chakṛā* | *yūṛ*, hither | |
| *hāṛ*, June-July | *ṛāṛ'* | | |
| *oṛa*, pair, etc. | *joṛā* | LOANWORDS | |
| *jūṛ*$^{i}$, do | *joṛī* | *krāy*, cauldron | *kaṛā'ī* |
| *kapuṛ*, cloth | *kapṛā* | *krūtsh*, ladle | *kaṛchā* |
| *kaṛun*, eject | *kaḍḍ'ṇā* | | |
| *kāṛun*, boil | *kāṛ'nā* | Other words with *r* (not *ṛ*) | |
| *kŏkuṛ*, cock | *kukkaṛ* | *khūr*$^{ü}$, heel | *khur* |
| *koṛ*$^{u}$, bracelet | *kaṛā* | *harun*, fall | |
| *kōṛ*, whither | | *mūr*, myrrh | *mur* |

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Dr. Helmer Smith, through his editions of Pali canonical texts and commentaries and through his co-editorship—with Professor D. Andersen—of the *Critical Pali Dictionary*, has made himself known as one of the very foremost Pali scholars of the present time. It has been known for some time that he was preparing a critical edition of the *Saddanīti*, an extensive and important Pali grammar of the twelfth century of which formerly very little was known. The few contributions—chiefly by Childers and Franke—towards our knowledge of the *Saddanīti* "laissaient entrevoir", to quote the *propria verba* of the learned editor, "les traits caractéristiques d'un Cours complet de Pali, plus riche en faits que l'adaptation un peu naïve du Kātantra qui porte le nom de Kaccāyana, plus facile à interpréter et à contrôler que l'élégant *śāstra*, à l'instar du Candravyākaraṇa, où Moggallāna a consigné les résultats philologiques de son siècle." Such, then, were the expectations evoked even by fairly scanty notices concerning this admirable work; and they have been abundantly fulfilled by the issue of Dr. Smith's first volume of the *Saddanīti*.

Of the editor's critical faculties, of his immense patience and carefulness nothing need be said here. They, as well as his astounding learning and wonderful mastership of Pali, Sanskrit, and other languages with which he has busied himself, are too well known to be commented upon in this connection. It has been suggested quite recently, in a review of this very book, that we have here before us perhaps the best edition of a Pali work hitherto issued. Superlatives

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may at times be somewhat invidious ; and, besides, the present writer feels in no way competent to pass a general judgment upon a work like this which is partly beyond his own sphere. But this he would still venture to say : if Dr. Smith's edition of the *Saddanīti* cannot be proclaimed the very foremost of Pali texts hitherto issued—and this simply because all human judgment is relative and not absolute—he feels fully convinced that no other similar edition can claim a higher rank in comparison with it. Critical editorship here has certainly reached its acme, and the learned editor may with every right say : *ultra non possumus*. For, after all, no one could go further.

To this volume Dr. Smith has only added a short preface in which he tells us about the manuscripts and editions adduced for the preparation of his edition as well as about certain technical details. It does not seem quite clear whether he will affix to his third and last volume some more detailed remarks on the *Saddanīti* and its author as well as on native Pali grammar in general. But we still hope that that will be the case, as few scholars will feel quite satisfied with only getting the edition of the text, admirable though it be, from the master hand of Dr. Smith.

The present writer cannot finish this short review without a few words which have perhaps a slightly personal touch, but may be quite pardonable in a scholar who enjoys the favour of being a countryman of Dr. Smith. His admirable editions of different Pali texts have won him well-earned fame ; but critical editions, most excellent though they be by themselves, are still not the highest goal. An extensive and critical Pali grammar in a modern European language is still a desideratum ; and amongst living scholars no one would be better able to give us such a work than Dr. Smith. We should feel happy to think that this modest appeal would not remain altogether unanswered.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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HILFSBUCH DES PEHLEVI. I. Texte und Index der Pehlevi-Wörter. By H. S. NYBERG. pp. 20, 79, 89. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1928.

Pahlavi studies have for a long time been in a somewhat precarious state in spite of single excellent contributions as, e.g., those by Professor F. W. K. Müller or Dr. Tedesco. Awe-inspiring as Pahlavi seems to be by itself, its evil fame has no doubt been enhanced by the total lack of modern handbooks, with the aid of which the novice might make his first stumbling steps on his way towards the great mystery. At one time we were used to hope for enlightenment here as in other domains of Iranian studies from Professor Andreas. But, unfortunately, our hope proved to be a false one. Light was spread at Goettingen, but only within the narrow circle of the faithful; and the somewhat Pythagorean fashion in which it was communicated to the outer world may have filled many a heart with diffidence or despondency.

However, an old saying may be converted into this: *ex septentrione lux*. Dr. Nyberg, of the University of Upsala, a scholar of most extensive and profound learning in Semitic as well as Iranian languages, in 1927 gave a series of lectures on Pahlavi; finding, however, that he could not coach his pupils without a proper handbook, he heroically resolved to make one himself. All this he tells us in the introduction. And thanks to these happy circumstances those scholars who busy themselves with Pahlavi—or Iranian studies in general—have thus been endowed with the first volume of a most excellent "Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi". This volume contains an introduction, texts, and an index of Pahlavi words; the second one, which seems to be completed in manuscript, will bring a much needed Pahlavi dictionary giving the meanings and etymological connections of the words contained in it.

No scholar could have been better prepared for such a task than Dr. Nyberg. His profound knowledge of Semitic languages and his previous Iranian researches,

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the results of which have only in some small part been published,[1] his patience, carefulness, and strong critical power alike have made him excellently fit for this more than difficult task. And though the present writer be unable to pass a detailed judgment on a handbook of Pahlavi, he is sufficiently well acquainted with Dr. Nyberg's work and methods to know that nothing but a most accomplished work would come from his pen.

In the introduction Dr. Nyberg has dealt shortly with several important problems, one of which may for a moment call for our attention. It is by now well known that Professor Andreas and his disciples take it for proved that in the Iranian languages the Indo-European *ă*, *ĕ*, *ŏ* and *ā*, *ē*, *ō* are all represented by respectively *ŏ* and *ō*. Outside the circle of the Goettingen School this conclusion has been gravely questioned. And Dr. Nyberg now points to the all-important fact that the innumerable Armenian, Aramaic, and Arabic loan-words from various languages of Iranian stock wholly disprove such a theory.[2] Let us add that from an historical point of view the theory of Professor Andreas seems alike untenable. Every conclusion based upon the quality of the Old Indian *ă* (as mentioned in Pāṇini's last *sūtra* and elsewhere) is inadmissible; and in the Old Iranian languages themselves very little if anything seems to admit of such a theory. There is so far nothing material in the way of still accepting the already time-honoured suggestion that Indo-European *ă*, *ĕ*, *ŏ* are represented in Indo-Iranian by the single *ă*, though, of course, this *ă* was subject to local modifications and also to "kombinatorischer Lautwandel".

We conclude with the hope that Dr. Nyberg will soon be able to publish his second volume as well as other important works dealing with Iranian subjects. In that field of research his has certainly a great future. JARL CHARPENTIER.

[1] Cf. especially *Le Monde Oriental*, xvii, 182 seq.

[2] Quite recently Professor Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, has arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. Nyberg by studying Chinese and Tibetan loan-words from Iranian languages.

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THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM AND A BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE. By J. B. PRATT. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. xii + 758. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1928.

Dr. Pratt has written this extensive book with the hope that the reader will get from it "a sense for Buddhism as a whole, for the organic unity of its life and growth, for the organic identity of the Buddhism of contemporary Japan, with that which originated twenty-five hundred years ago in India". He claims to have "a fairly intimate understanding of Buddhism as it is actually lived to-day", but he has not tried to cover the whole of Buddhism, nor to show us all its lights and shadows. In fact, he candidly says "the thing I have tried to do is to make Buddhism *plausible*", and he carries it out, for he tells us that with deliberate intention he has said nothing whatever of the Buddhism of Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia. As for the rest of Buddhism with which he deals, more than half the chapters are devoted to Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The book consists of two elements, the first being a vivid and sympathetic description of what he has seen and experienced in his two journeys through Buddhist countries. It is no doubt a good thing for the Buddhists, and the Christians too, to see themselves reflected in the mind of a professor of philosophy. He tells them that it is an unfortunate and misleading question to ask which of these two great religions is true and which false. And he concludes that the desirable solution will be found only when the two religions settle down to live side by side on terms of amity and co-operation and friendly rivalry. This and much of what he says lies outside the province of this *Journal*. The other element in the book is the historical one. Here the author, apart from personal contact with Buddhists, is dependent on translations, and his conclusions are often a balancing of views that he has found in writers like Rhys Davids, Stcherbatsky, McGovern, Keith, or Radhakrishnan. He does not claim a knowledge of the original languages, so that it was really unnecessary to use words that result in

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things like *cunya*, *aksagarbha*, *vajrakkhedika*, or to speculate about the meaning of "completely extinct" in the *Lotus*, apparently without being aware that the phrase is merely Kern's arbitrary translation of *parinirvṛta*, which gives a meaning certainly not found in that sūtra. These, however, are questions of philological interest, and do not seriously affect the author's main purpose and achievement.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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THE PĀLI LITERATURE OF CEYLON. By G. P. MALALASEKERA. (Prize Publication, Vol. X.) 9 × 6, pp. 329. London: Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1928.

THE PATH OF PURITY. Being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. By PE MAUNG TIN. Part II. (Pali Text Society, Translation Series, No. 17.) 9 × 6, pp. 504. London: Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, n.d.

Dr. Malalasekera's work is much more than a history of the literature, but no apology is needed for having embedded his account in what is largely a history of Ceylon. This means chiefly the story told in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the author has resulted in a very interesting and eloquently written book. But even though we may have got beyond the complete scepticism as to the value of the Chronicles for history, we can scarcely be said to have reached an agreement as to what we are to believe, especially for the thousand years before the *Mahāvaṃsa* was written. The real subject of the book, however, begins with chapter iv, and gives a valuable account of the real literary activity of Ceylon. In spite of the author having presented us with so much and having described the literature so fully, we should have liked still more. In his account of Kaccāna's grammar, he makes no mention of the fact that it has been published. The *Rasavāhinī* has been printed, at least in part, and is used also

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in other than temple schools, but of this we are told nothing in the section devoted to the analysis of the work. It would be too much to expect a full bibliography, but readers will expect to know what edition the author is talking about, and whether an edition is accessible. Two portions of the book have a special interest, the account of the efforts of Western scholars in the last century to get an insight into Pāli and Sinhalese literature, and that of the literary and religious revival in Ceylon in modern times. The author writes with feeling, but with admirable restraint, of the lamentable events in the island which resulted from the conflicting commercial and political interests of foreigners.

The first volume of this translation of the *Visuddhimagga* was issued six years ago. The present volume is a translation of chapters iii–xiii, and covers about half of the whole. It deals with the choice of subjects for meditation, the various mechanical means for inducing jhāna and still higher states, the practice of the brahmavihāras, and various kinds of *iddhi* such as levitation and other miracles. The translation is very ably done, and will doubtless have a great influence in establishing a recognized system of representing Pāli terms. Hence more consistency in some cases would have been advisable. *Paññā* appears as "insight", "wisdom" and "understanding". *Abhiññā* first appears as "intuition" with the footnote "more literally super-knowledge", but in the chapter devoted to the subject as "higher knowledge". *Attā* is "self" and "soul" on the same page.

It is a matter for congratulation that the work is being carried out by one so well-equipped as Professor Pe Maung Tin. With his deep knowledge of the subject matter, his perfectly idiomatic style, and his use of the *ṭīkā*, he has been able to add valuable notes and to improve the state of the text considerably.

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LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KĀṆHA ET DE SARAHA. Les Dohā-koṣa (en apabhraṃśa avec les versions tibétaines) et les Caryā (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaires et notes édités et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. (Textes pour l'étude du bouddhisme tardif.) 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 236. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1928.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VAIṢṆAVA RELIGION (with special reference to the Kṛṣṇite and Gourāṅgite Cults). By G. N. MALLIK. In 2 vols. Vol. I. 9 × 5½, pp. xxxii + 11 + 381 + 48. The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series, No. 14. Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, 1927.

The subject of Dr. Shahidullah's work was first brought to public notice by Professor Bendall in his edition of the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, in which he discussed a number of the apabhraṃśa verses quoted there. Dr. Shahidullah has now edited and translated the complete texts of two of the authors which were first published by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī in *Bauddha gān o dohā* in 1916. The author, with his knowledge of Bengali grammar and palæography and with an independent outlook on Bengali religious thought, appears to be an ideal editor. He has made a careful study of the phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and prosody, and with the use of three Tibetan translations of Kāṇha and two of Saraha from the *Tanjur* he has been able to establish a satisfactory text. The result is a highly valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of Buddhist apabhraṃśa, but also to a little known development of doctrine. This is tantrism, not in the loose sense as used by Koeppen, but the system which invests sexual processes with a religious significance. Professor Bendall, in a very natural disgust, did not try to understand it. We may refuse to discuss it, but it is not correct to look upon it as merely licence masquerading as religion, nor is it a sublimation and misunderstanding of physical facts. Doubtless it gave the opportunity for licence,

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but however repulsive we may find it, it has to be recognized as one of the forms in which the religious instinct has clothed itself. The term *sahaja* expresses one of its essential doctrines, and there is a still existing Vaishnava sect, the Sahajīyā, which is branded by a serious Vaishnava scholar, Professor Mallik, as debauchery. Dr. Shahidullah treats the matter quite objectively, and says no more about it than is necessary. He gives a valuable discussion on the technical language, in which tantric senses are disguised under apparently innocuous terms.

Not only does the system reject the Vedas and Purāṇas, but also the Āgamas. The important person in all the teaching is the *guru*, and his pupil is the *cellu*. Here we have the modern *chela*, and the author perhaps makes the system look more orthodox than it is by translating the term *śrāmaṇera*. Kāṇha makes no mention of a Buddha, not even in the invocation. He speaks once of a *tathāgata*, but she turns out to be a sort of goddess (*debī*). Saraha uses the word *Buddha* twice, once when he speaks with scorn of the pandit who explains all śāstras, and yet knows not the Buddha that dwells in his body (*dehahi basanta*), and again when he declares that everything without any interstice is the Buddha. No wonder Dr. Shahidullah says that it is difficult to connect such teaching either with the Little or the Great Vehicle.

The whole work is thoroughly scholarly, but the proof-reading might have been more searching, especially in parts where it is important to know what the exact forms of the dialect are. The first *lakkhaï* on p. 79 is translated "sont négligés", but probably *uekkhaï* (*upekṣyate*) is intended. *Jima* (= *yathā*) is explained, but not *tima* (*tathā*). *Ṇitta* (*nitya*) of the text is *nitta* in the vocabulary.

Dr. Shahidullah has also printed and translated the *caryā* in old Bengali, twelve stanzas by Kāṇha and four by Saraha. Perhaps he will one day examine them more fully.

Professor Mallik's book shows what a different system may develop out of principles which at least have something in

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common with the teaching of Kāṇha, but the latter is probably due to an alien system which infected both Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. The term Vaiṣṇavism includes very different forms of worship, and perhaps the severest statement about it is made by Professor Mallik himself: "Most of the present followers of the very sublime religion of the Baiṣṇavas have undergone such a degree of degeneration that the religion itself has now become the butt-end of ridicule and caviling."

In the system as Professor Mallik expounds it there is no tantrism. His book is in the first place concerned with establishing the philosophical basis. Three sources of knowledge are recognized—perception, inference, and śabda or revelation, but the only reliable source of right knowledge is śabda, i.e. the Vedas. But even the sages have understood one and the same Veda in different lights, and to make the true import of the Vedas clear the Purāṇas appeared. Even then the comparative excellence of the Purāṇas has to be determined. Vyāsa, having revealed all the other Purāṇas, composed the Brahman Sūtras, but their meaning was so ambiguous that he revealed the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as his commentary on his own sūtras. This is the authority *par excellence*. It is thus clear why the Vaiṣṇava system is called a religion, but the question of evidence being settled, the author gives a clear and able discussion of the more purely metaphysical principles. It is directed chiefly against the teaching of Śankarācārya—his monism, his doctrine of creation, and the illusory nature of the individual.

The religious exposition deals with the principle of Rādhā (who sublimates the lordship of Kṛṣṇa), the cult of Gaurāṅga, who is not a mere incarnation or partial aspect, but "The Absolute Being Bhagavān himself", and lastly the doctrine of bhakti.

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DIE NYĀYASUTRA'S. Text, Übersetzung, Erläuterung und Glossar von W. RUBEN. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xviii, 2.) 9 × 6, pp. xviii + 270. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1928.

A SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT, PALI, AND PRAKRIT BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM ACQUIRED DURING THE YEARS 1906–1928. Compiled by L. D. Barnett. 11 × 9, pp. 4, columns 1,694. London: Sold at the British Museum and by B. Quaritch, the Oxford University Press, and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1928.

In the Nyāya sūtras, says the author, we find apparently for the first time in India a philosophy portrayed as a rounded system—theory of knowledge, metaphysics of the microcosm and macrocosm, and doctrine of salvation. It may be presumed that in Kauṭalya's time there was as yet no Nyāya system, and it must be later than the Vaiśeṣika, for it presupposes the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. All these are statements that have been disputed, and they cannot be said to be settled yet, as the author in order to economize space has omitted any polemic against modern interpreters. He has, however, made an invaluable contribution to the elucidation of the system, and has focussed the problems that still await solution.

The introduction gives an account of the Indian commentators, and throughout the work the modern literature is referred to. The main part consists of the transliterated text of the sūtras, a translation and commentary following each sūtra and critical notes, each portion being printed in clearly contrasted type, which makes the whole a pleasure to read. A quarter of the book consists of notes. There are two Sanskrit indexes, which should make it easy to find any technical term, but it is curious that *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* (i, 1, 5) is not among them. This is the third of the three kinds of inference, and Garbe once translated it "induktiv", but Jacobi pointed out that it might equally well be translated "deduktiv",

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and that according to the Indian view every *Schluss* is deductive. Thereupon Garbe in his *Sāṃkhya und Yoga* adopted Jacobi's view without giving any indication that he had thought the matter out for himself. The author ignores all this, and takes the term to mean "durch Analogie", yet he knows that the meaning was so unsettled among the commentators that one of them, at least, read *adṛṣṭam* for *dṛṣṭam*, and that in the Nyāya sūtra itself *upamāna* is usually translated "analogy". These remarks are not meant in any way to disparage this admirable work, but they perhaps suggest that the Nyāya has not yet been finally presented "in seiner Klarheit, Übersichtlichkeit und Durchdachtheit".

In 1908 the second Supplementary Catalogue of the printed books in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit in the British Museum was brought out by Dr. Barnett. Now another supplement follows, but the title gives no idea of the importance of the work. The last twenty years have been very fruitful in the publication of Sanskrit works and in the initiation of important series, like the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, mostly executed by Indian scholars. The present work contains more than twice as many items as the previous supplement, and the indexes alone are more extensive than the whole original catalogue of Haas. It only remains to express the admiration and thanks of all Sanskrit scholars for the way in which it has been executed by Dr. Barnett.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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## Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. THE NIGHAṆṬU AND THE NIRUKTA. The oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited . . . and translated for the first time into English, with introduction, exegetical and critical notes, three indexes, and eight appendices, by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon) . . . Sanskrit text, etc. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxix + 292. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1927.

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2. FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF SKANDASVĀMIN AND MAHEŚVARA ON THE NIRUKTA. Edited . . . with an Introduction and Critical Notes by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon). 10 × 7, pp. 15 + i + 139. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1928.

Professor Lakshman Sarup is to be congratulated on having brought to a successful conclusion his long and arduous labours. Seven years have passed since he issued his annotated translation of the Nirukta; and now we are indebted to him for the text of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, critically edited and excellently printed (though, it must be confessed, with a large crop of printer's errors, which he frankly acknowledges, and has for the most part corrected in a *śuddhi-pattra* at the end of the book), together with an introduction in which he discusses the character of the MS. material used by him and the MSS. and dates of the commentaries of Dēvarāja, Durga, and others, and an appendix showing the passages of the Nirukta which are connected with the Saṃhitās (other than the Ṛk), Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Sarvânukramaṇī, Bṛhat-sarv°, Bṛhad-dēvatā, Prātiśākhyas, Aṣṭâdhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Kauṭalīya, and Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha.

One valuable result of Mr. Lakshman Sarup's scholarly studies has been to ascertain that there are two recensions of the Nirukta, a longer (A) and a shorter (B), of which B represents a purer and A a more interpolated tradition, and his text is accordingly based upon B. One is tempted, however, to suggest that logically he might go further. He tells us that Durga in his commentary, which repeats every word of the Nirukta, "took pains to ascertain the correct readings and has handed down a sort of critical edition of the *Nirukta* as it existed in his time," which was probably the early fourteenth century, and therefore previous to B. Now B gives some passages unknown to Durga, which seem to be spurious additions, and yet these are printed by



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Mr. Lakshman Sarup as if authentic. Would it not have been better to omit them, and to base the text primarily upon Durga's recension ?

As a supplement to his edition of the Nirukta Mr. Lakshman Sarup has published the available fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Mahêśvara. As to the authorship of the first text here printed, the *Nirukta-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*, there is some mystery, for the MSS. ascribe some chapters of it to Skandasvāmin and others to Mahêśvara; and Mr. Lakshman Sarup suggests the probable solution that, as its name implies, it is really a gloss (*ṭīkā*) by Mahêśvara on a commentary (*bhāṣya*) by Skandasvāmin, in which some morsels of the latter work are imbedded. The portion here printed deals only with the first *adhyāya* of the Nirukta, but it occupies with footnotes 121 pages. To this is added a collection of the fragments of Skandasvāmin's commentary on Nirukta gleaned from Dēvarāja's exposition of the Nighaṇṭu.

3. ASOKA: Gaekwad Lectures. By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xii + i + 273, 15 plates, 1 map. London: Macmillan & Co., 1928.

Professor Mookerji's book comprises six chapters on the early life and family of his hero, his history, administration, religion, and monuments, and the social conditions of his age, followed by an annotated translation of the Inscriptions and the text of them (in the best preserved specimens where several recensions exist), together with appendices on the chronology of Aśōka and the Edicts and their language and script. It is designed as "a convenient text-book" for University students, and disclaims any pretensions to originality, except for some points of chronology and interpretation and certain appraisements of Aśōka's career.

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In his main design Professor Mookerji has succeeded. The work is painstaking and generally careful, while the materials collected, especially in the notes to the translation, will be very helpful to students. We must, however, confess to some doubt as to whether the Professor's contributions have fixed the floating islands of Aśōkan chronology, for his arguments seem very deficient in cogency; and the suggestions on p. 68 regarding Aśōka's attitude towards dissent in the Saṅgha and the Second Council are unconvincing. The remarks on kingship in ancient India on p. 47 f. ignore the fact that in course of time the king came to exercise important legislative functions. Aśōka did so, and his activity, viewed from the standpoint of Indian constitutional doctrine, was almost revolutionary. The explanation of a notorious crux offered on p. 113, n. 7, is wholly unsatisfactory, and the statement on p. 116, n. 6, that "the rule of conduct herein preached is taken by Aśōka from a well-known passage in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*" is, to say the least, uncritical. The philological work on the whole is careful; but, as the Professor is not a professional philologer, it is somewhat deficient in exactness and sureness of touch. A trait to which the reader may fairly take exception is the Professor's habit of mixing up Prakrit, Pali, and Sanskrit forms of words in a manner that must prove most confusing to the untrained reader: thus on p. 27 we have the Pali "Sāriputta" immediately followed by "Maudgalāyana" (*sic!*), and on p. 32 in a list of names from Pali sources several are quite irrationally given in Sanskrit translation.[1] It is to be hoped that these and other lapses will be corrected in the next edition.

[1] We would also respectfully call attention to the false idiom in the words "calls Asoka as a *Maurya*" on p. 12, n. 3 (cf. p. 140, n. 6), the unlawful compound "co-terminous" on p. 15 (some of us will remember the ridicule cast by Bentley upon this type of word), and the incorrect "Selukos" (p. 13, n. 1, and p. 15) and "*hiraṇyārthivih*" (p. 25), among other slips.

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4. L'Aśvamedha. Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d'après les textes du Yajurveda blanc . . . Par P. E. Dumont. (Société Belge d'Études Orientales.) 10 × 6½, pp. xxxvi + 413 + ii. Paris, Louvain printed : P. Geuthner, 1927.

The Aśva-mēdha as prescribed for successful monarchs is not so much a religious ceremony as a series of diverse rites of sympathetic magic, for the most part exceedingly primitive in character, and concerned originally with Varuṇa, Indra, and other ancient gods, which have been adapted and redacted by Brahman ritualists so as to form a gigantic combination to glorify their favourite deity Prajāpati. The filthy obscenity of word and act which mark some of its ceremonies is characteristic of early Brahmanism in its nastiest forms: one marvels whether Samudragupta and his polished court carried out all its loathsome rules, and if so, what their feelings were. But just because of its barbarous crudity the Aśva-mēdha is most instructive, and M. Dumont has done good service to science by his unflinching analysis.

The main part of his work consists of a careful description of the Aśva-mēdha in its details, arranged in 691 paragraphs, as prescribed for the schools of the White Yajur-vēda in Kātyâyana's Śrāuta-sūtra, the Vājasanēyi-saṃhitā, and the Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa, with occasional excerpts from the last-named work interpreting the significance of the rites according to Brahmanic theory. To this are added four appendices in which are translated Āpastamba's Śrāuta-sūtra xx, Bāudhâyana's Śr.-s. xv, and some portions of the Vādhūla Śr.-s., which represent the Aśva-mēdha ritual of the Black Yajur-vēda, and a series of extracts from the Āśvamēdhika-parvan of the Mahābhārata describing the horse-sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira after his victory. Indices and an introduction summarily describing the ceremony and indicating its religious character fitly complete this careful and useful monograph.

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5. THE VEDĀNTA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.Litt. (The Religious Quest of India.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xiv + ii + 256. H. Milford: Oxford (University Press), 1928.

6. COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN VEDĀNTISM. By MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + i + 314. H. Milford: Madras (Diocesan Press), 1927.

Professor Urquhart's study of the Vēdânta in its evolution from the early intuitions of the Vēda to the full maturity of Śaṅkara's system (the doctrine of Rāmānuja receives less attention from him than it deserves, and the other schools are ignored) is, although thus limited in scope, a remarkably fine and penetrating work. It is marked throughout by scholarly accuracy of knowledge, clarity of thought, and fairness even to the degree of sympathetic generosity, for Dr. Urquhart believes that much of Indian philosophy "is unconsciously anticipative of Christian thought", and he earnestly endeavours to trace such a connection in the Vēdânta, without minimising the points of difference. Possibly, indeed, he goes a little further in this direction than is strictly warranted by the facts: at any rate he seems to us to have somewhat over-estimated the religious element in Śaṅkara's thought, which is dominantly, perhaps almost entirely, intellectualistic, and has little if any trace of the theistic emotion which stirs in the intuition of some of the Upaniṣads, in Rāmānuja, and in Christian writers. Perhaps also he is too generous in his suggestion that Śaṅkara aimed at a "realistic rehabilitation of the world" and failed to accomplish it: one rather suspects that on principle Śaṅkara would have stoutly repudiated such an ideal, though in practice he sometimes drifted unconsciously in that direction. But while our opinions on these and a few other minor points do not wholly tally with those of the Professor, we must pay a tribute of cordial admiration to the singular merit of his book as a whole.

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While Dr. Urquhart narrows his survey to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Dr. Sircar on the contrary includes in his review of the main doctrines of the Vēdânta nearly all the schools which claim to represent it—Advāita, Viśiṣṭâdvāita, Pāñcarātra, Dvāita, Bhēdâbhēda, Gāuḍīya Vāiṣṇavas, and Puṣṭimārgīyas. The author follows the comparative method, impartially stating the theories of the several schools upon the topics under review. The work shows much philosophic acumen and learning, and will be very useful to the specialist, although in respect of lucidity of expression and orderliness of exposition it seems to us to leave something to be desired.

7. Pallava Architecture. Part II (Intermediate or Māmalla Period). By A. H. Longhurst. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 33.) 13 × 10¼, pp. i + ii + 50 + v, 35 plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1928.

Mr. Longhurst has already investigated the earliest period of Pallava architecture, which is associated with the name of Mahêndravarman I, and he accordingly devotes the present monograph to a study of the monuments of the middle period, which belong approximately to the reign (about A.D. 640–74) of Narasiṃhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla or Māmalla, whose name is preserved in that of the port founded by him, Māmallapuram, later miscalled Mahābalipuram, and by early British sailors styled "Seven Pagodas". Here there has been preserved a group of *rathas* and other rock-cut monuments which rank among the most attractive works of Pallava art and which furnish ample material for the study of the period. Mr. Longhurst therefore gives to them the larger share of his attention and examines them in detail, showing with the aid of excellent plates the development of technique beginning from that of the earliest monuments, particularly the Dharmarāja and Kōṭikal *maṇḍapas*, which in workmanship are hardly distinguishable from some

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of the temples of the preceding period, and culminating in the matured perfection which characterises the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. Of special interest is the description of the magnificent "Arjuna's Penance", which, as is now generally recognised, has nothing to do with Arjuna, and really depicts a gathering of gods and ascetics on the two banks of a river, "a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas," in which the plastic genius of Hindu sculpture attains its highest perfection. The monograph is a thoroughly competent and much needed treatment of an exceedingly important and fascinating phase of Indian art.

8. REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. 1335 F. 1925–26 A.C. 14 × 10½, pp. x + 54, 18 plates. Hyderabad, Calcutta printed: Baptist Mission Press, 1928.

In addition to useful conservation work on the Ellora Caves, Ajanta, the Forts of Warangal and Bhongir, the tomb of Qāsim Barīd at Bidar, the Haft Gumbaẕ at Gulbarga, and other monuments. Mr. Yazdani and his staff during the year under review have accomplished an important task in surveying the tombs of Gulbarga ascribed to the Bahmanīs 'Alā ud-Dīn Ḥasan and Muḥammad Shāh I and II, the great mosques in the Shāh-bazār and the Fort, and the seven tombs outside Gulbarga commonly known as the Haft Gumbaẕ, with other local structures. A very interesting light is thus thrown upon the evolution of Muslim architecture in the Dekhan, as the older buildings and the Haft Gumbaẕ are in the Tughluq style, while the later ones—notably the Fort mosque, constructed by a Persian architect from Qazwin—bear evidence to an influx of Persian influences, to which were gradually added those of India, strikingly evidenced in the beautiful Masjid of Afẕal Khān. Another interesting section is the account of the Forts at Bhongir and Warangal. Two appendices are added, one by Mr. L. Munn on human

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artefacts and fossilized bones found in the Godavari valley, and the other by Mr. T. Streenivas on coins of the Western Cāḷukyas. Altogether the Hyderabad Government has very good reason for recording " their appreciation of the excellent work of Mr. Yazdani ".

9. MANDŪ, THE CITY OF JOY. By G. YAZDANI, M.A., Director of Archæology in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions and Epigraphist to the Government of India for Moslem Inscriptions. Printed for the Dhār State. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + 131, 30 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1929.

Scattered over the rich and beautiful plateau which on three sides sinks abruptly through a wild gorge into the plains of Malwa, the ruins of Malwa bear silent and sorrowful witness to the past glories of what was once fittingly named Shādīābād, the Abode of Joy. We may be sure that princes ruled here from times of immemorial antiquity; but no record of it appears in history until the days of the Pratihāras and, after them, of the Paramāras, and it first emerges into prominence in the reign of Dilāwar Khān Ghōrī, at first the viceroy and then from 1401 to 1405 the ruler of Malwa, who laid the foundations of the great fortress of Mandu. His son Hoshang Shāh, who established his capital here, not only completed his father's design, but crowned Mandu with many stately and beautiful buildings. Their family continued to reign in the city until the days of Bāz Bahādur—famous in legend for his romantic love for the Hindu songstress Rūpmatī—who was forced to surrender his kingdom to Akbar; and after some vicissitudes of fortune Mandu in 1734 was incorporated in the dominions of the Puār Maharajas of Dhar, a branch of the same Paramāras who had governed it many centuries previously.

To narrate the story of this city and to describe the monuments of its whilom splendours, the Government of the Dhar State has enlisted the services of Mr. Yazdani. It is

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a happy choice, for Mr. Yazdani unites historical and antiquarian learning with sound taste and lucidity of style, which enable him to do full justice to his fascinating theme. He has given us a book of which the text is a pleasure to read and the illustrations are a delight to the eye, and to him and to the Government of Dhar lovers of knowledge and beauty owe an abundant measure of gratitude.

10. NACHTRÄGE ZUM SANSKRIT-WÖRTERBUCH IN KÜRZERER FASSUNG von OTTO BÖHTLINGK, bearbeitet von RICHARD SCHMIDT. 14 × 10½, pp. viii + 398. Hannover and Leipzig, 1924–8.

Professor Schmidt has now completed his laborious but exceedingly useful task of supplementing the "Baby Böhtlingk" by a volume containing some 12,000 new articles together with Böhtlingk's own addenda, which number about 14,450. The bulk of the new material is drawn from drama, poetry, poetical prose (especially the *Yaśas-tilaka*), rhetoric, and erotic literature, while religious works, medicine (Caraka), Śaiva philosophy, the *Kāuṭalīya*, and the *Vāijayantī* have also contributed their quotas. As Dr. Schmidt admits, his collections are by no means final gleanings in the fields of Sanskrit literature: circumstances have unfortunately compelled him to leave out much valuable Vedic and cognate materials, and we observe, also with regret, that he has not drawn upon the rich store of poetry contained in the inscriptions. On the other hand, it may be questioned whether some of the entries, such as *a-kapila*, *a-karada*, *a-pratta*, where the *a-* merely gives a negative sense to the following adjective or participle, are worth collecting and printing: counsels of perfection plead for them, while practical considerations urge their omission. But however this may be, the work as a whole deserves to be welcomed as a product of sound and industrious scholarship, and no oriental library can dispense with it.

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11. ŚRĪ-KṚṢṆÂVATĀRA-LĪLĀ. Composed in Kāshmīrī by DĪNANĀTHA. Text edited, translated, and transcribed in the roman character by Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., LL.D., F.B.A. (Bibliotheca Indica.) 10 × 6⅜, pp. 12 + i + 251. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928.

In his autobiography Charles Philip Brown claimed, doubtless with justice, to have rekindled the dying fires of Telugu literature; Sir George Grierson, if he were less modest than he is, might boast of having accomplished no less for several literatures of Northern India, and to have done it in an immeasurably more scientific and critical manner. And of all the tongues to which he has devoted his loving studies, Kashmiri owes to the great Bhāṣā-vācaspati a peculiar debt of gratitude, which is crowned by the present work.

Though Hinduism claims the spiritual allegiance of only a minority of the population, it dominates the literature of Kashmir, and one of its most important cults is well represented in the Kṛṣṇâvatāra-līlā. The poem is comparatively modern, for the author, whose identity is very dubious, Dīna-nātha being only a pen-name, seems to have died in the last century. But he has done his business efficiently, paraphrasing the story of the Bhāgavata in a sequence of 1178 fluent verses with a pleasant refrain—the long-drawn Golden Legend which Hindu audiences love to hear. It can scarcely be described as "linked sweetness long drawn out", for Kashmiri is a crabbed tongue; but Dīna-nātha knows how to speak to the heart of his people in the language which they understand, and he does so. The text is given by Sir George Grierson in roman transliteration (no easy task in itself) with an accurate translation on the opposite page, a performance which would suffice to make the literary fortune of any other scholar, but is to him merely a parergon.

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INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By JWALA PRASAD. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, viii + viii + 196 pp. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1928.

Professor R. D. Ranade contributes a foreword from which it appears that this small book attempts to meet the needs of candidates for the B.A. degree in Indian universities, most of which now require from students who offer philosophy some acquaintance with Indian philosophy. This was an inevitable and an interesting development of the former exclusively Western philosophical curriculum, but it is one which presents serious difficulties. It is sufficiently easy to select one or two philosophical classics of the West which students at an early stage can understand and which have high value as instruments of culture and incentives to reflection. But it is not at all easy to find an Indian philosophical classic which can take its place in a B.A. curriculum beside (say) Berkeley and Plato's Republic. And, failing this, the alternative is to prescribe a general acquaintance with the outlines of Indian thought; the value of which to a young student is, to say the least, dubious. It is extremely difficult to give philosophical significance to the dry bones of the *darśanas*. Even in the best exposition the technicalities of Sāṁkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Buddhism and Jainism look like fossils in a museum of philosophical antiquities. They can be arranged and labelled, but it is not easy to realize them as living forms of thought.

Mr. Jwala Prasad writes well and does not waste words or talk at large. He is free from prejudice, and has critical ability; and where his subject-matter and the compass of the work permits, his treatment is interesting. His account is never wilfully misleading (although it is perhaps a pity that he included in an Appendix a paper on *Germs of Modern Psychology in the Yajurveda*); and many who are looking for a readable and reliable short account of Indian thought will find his book useful. The book is indexed and well printed; though the late Dr. Venis' name should not have been (twice)

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given in the form *Venice*, nor should Max Müller have been represented (again, twice) as speaking of "the oldest hymns of Babylonian and *Arcadian* poets". The inclusion of "Intellection (*buddhi*)" among the seven *guṇas* added later to the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra's list of seventeen, is a strange inadvertence—the quality intended must be *saṁskāra*; but this is not "intellection"; though in the form of *bhāvanā* it is an *ātma-guṇa*.

H. N. RANDLE.

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KĀLIDĀSA. LE Raghuvamça (La lignée des fils du soleil) poème en XIX chants traduit du Sanscrit par Louis Renou. (Les Joyaux de L'Orient, Tome VI.) 6 × 8, xii + 218 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

Translations of a *mahākāvya* naturally provoke the reader to ask what the translator's aim can have been. In the case of a translation like that of Nandargikar the question is easy to answer; he meant to supply a key to every word in the text; a useful object, which he achieved with sufficient success to have earned the gratitude of many of us. Where the translator's aim is thus limited by an avowed intention "to preserve the sense of the Sanskrit expressions without sacrificing it to the beauty of English phraseology", the question whether any one could endure to read the English rendering for its intrinsic interest does not arise. But when we read a version which preserves in carefully balanced clauses the antithetic style of the original, and which plainly has in view the aim of conveying in a modern language something of Kālidāsa's mastery of form, we are tempted to ask whether it is possible to convey enough of the spirit of the original to make translation of this character worth while.

The *Raghuvaṁśa* has a plot-interest in respect of its central part, the *Rāmāyaṇa* story; and if it had ended with Canto XV there would perhaps have been unity enough to

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make it a poem—instead of being, as it is, a string of poems. But then the poem would not have been a *mahākāvya*, the effects of which are episodic and lyrical: "raccourci avec un lyrisme contenu," as M. Renou, in a preface which compresses into three or four pages an illuminating appreciation of Kālidāsa's art, remarks with special reference to Canto XIV. The reader therefore who looks for epic breadth in the poem will be disappointed. And what will he find instead? A number of episodes chosen "non point pour leur importance propre, mais parce qu'ils prêtent à des variations littéraires où, dans un décor conventionnel, le poète peut donner libre cours à l'expression de ces *rasa*, ces 'sentiments' que préconise et définit avec tant de soin la rhétorique hindoue". And more than this, even: "l'unité elle-meme de l'épisode est sans cesse subordonnée à l'unité de la stance, laquelle possède en propre ses fins esthétiques et se soumet aux nécessités internes de son bref développement." The stanza is the thing, if not everything: "un tout indépendant et complet, un poême en miniature, avec son imprévu, ses jeux, son sommet d'expression et l'image inévitable qui l'accompagne." And further, "où l'idée ne peut suffire à étayer l'image le poète y supplée par toutes les ressources verbales d'un art raffiné." This is what provokes the question what the translator's aim can have been. He has to ignore effects due to alliteration, assonance and play on words; and, when these are left out, nothing is left, in numerous stanzas, except perhaps an unreal antithesis. For instance, there is not much to choose between Nandargikar's and M. Renou's versions of such stanzas as:—

*itthaṁ dvijena dvijarājakāntir āvedito vedavidāṁ vareṇa*
*enonivṛttendriyavṛttir enaṁ jagāda bhūyo jagadekanāthaḥ.*

How could there be? And yet Kālidāsa is, after all, worth translating in graceful modern prose, even if the effect of his *yamakas* and other such artifices cannot be reproduced. And M. Renou's version is (so far as a foreigner may judge) a very felicitous attempt to make the *Raghuvaṁśa* readable for

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those who do not read Sanskrit. Those who do, will find that it keeps very closely to the original. To have achieved both results at once is a feat on which a translator may fairly be congratulated.

There is a misprint at V, 9, where *kālopapannātithikalpyabhāgam* is rendered "une portion doit en être reservée pour les bêtes qui arrivent en temps voulu". *Bêtes* is a printer's error for *hôtes*. The description in the following line of the *gṛhasthāśrama* as *sarvopakārakṣama* is, as the commentators explain, a reference to the dependence of the other orders on the householder (several times emphasized by Manu), and the rendering "celui qui permet toutes les assistances" fails to convey this idea. In III, 32, *pupoṣa gāmbhīryamanoharaṁ vapuḥ* is not precisely rendered by "fleurissait dans des formes d'une profonde séduction". At I, 36, *nirghoṣa* is not "sans bruit". These were the only passages which appeared open to criticism, as the result of a fairly close comparison of the translation with the text in the earlier books. The translation is a valuable addition to this well-known series.

H. N. RANDLE.

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A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1668–70. By ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$; pp. xx + 444. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.

Though the three years covered by the present volume were not signalized by any momentous events in the Company's history in the East, the period was marked by steady development and increased shipping activity. In the proceedings of the Court and its Committees, however, we find references to several questions of historical and political importance, the outcome of events that had occurred in previous years, such as the relations with the governments of the Netherlands and Portugal and the power of the House of Lords to assume

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an original jurisdiction. The negotiations with the Dutch government arose from the well-founded apprehension of the Company that the treaty of Breda had jeopardized their interests and threatened to establish a Dutch monopoly of trade in the Far East. The occasion of the Triple Alliance was taken to move the King to induce the States-General to remedy their grievances. Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, took the matter in hand, and a "Treaty Marine" relating to seafaring and commercial matters was concluded in continuation of the treaty of alliance; but the promptitude with which Temple pushed this through precluded consultation with the Company, who were not satisfied with the terms arranged. Further negotiations followed; but, in spite of de Witt's efforts, the demands of our Company were only partially conceded owing to the opposition of the Dutch East India Company.

Though Bombay was ceded to the King of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal in 1661, the fleet despatched for the purpose under the Earl of Marlborough in the following year failed to get possession of it. It was not till 1665 that Humphrey Cooke took over from the Portuguese the island of Bombay, shorn of Salsette and Karanj, which were originally supposed to be included in the grant. Further trouble ensued in connexion with these two dependencies, owing to the levying by the Portuguese of customs duties upon all British vessels passing to the mainland. It was soon found that the government of Bombay cost more than it produced, and in 1668 it was handed over by the Crown to the Company "on payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold". It was Sir Gerald Aungier, Governor of Surat from 1669 to 1677, who, appreciating the possibilities of the site, founded the modern city of Bombay, and first placed its affairs upon a satisfactory footing. In this volume we find much evidence of the interest shown by the Company in its new possession, for example, in its fortification, armament and development, and in the despatch of a minister and of women to live there,

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who were not to be permitted " to marry any but those of their own nation, or such as be Protestants ". We see attention also being paid to the island of St. Helena, which had been occupied by the Company in 1651 on its evacuation by the Dutch. We find also several guarded references to the famous case of Thomas Skinner, which gave rise to a prolonged conflict between the Lords and the Commons, only to be dropped at the earnest personal request of the King. Skinner, however, falling between two stools, if the simile may be used of these august assemblies, never got any redress for the confiscation of his properties and the other hardships he had suffered at the hands of the Company.

The present volume forms the eighth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury, who must be warmly congratulated on the sustained care and scholarship with which the task has been performed. The very full index enhances the value of the work.

C. E. A. W. O.

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THE GURKHAS, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND COUNTRY. By MAJOR W. BROOK NORTHEY, M.C., and CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS, with a Foreword by Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. BRUCE, C.B., M.V.O. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xxxvii + 282, with map and 69 illustrations. London: John Lane, 1928.

Those who are not in a position to study M. Sylvain Lévi's standard work, *Le Népal*, in three volumes, or Mr. P. Landon's recent sympathetic and detailed account of the country and its governors, in two volumes, will welcome this short and readable description of a people who have rendered such splendid military services to our Empire. One of the most remarkable facts about Nepal is the very limited knowledge we possess of the country, although it marches with British India for some 500 miles. This is chiefly due to the strong prejudice of the people against Europeans travelling in their

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country, a prejudice which has evoked the strict regulations and prohibitions enforced by even the most enlightened rulers of the country. We can trace this feeling back at least to the time of the consolidation of the many hill states into a single kingdom under the "House of Gorkha", as Buchanan Hamilton appropriately named it. Prior to that, foreigners seem to have been under less restraint, as we know that Jesuit and Capuchin fathers and others had access to the country and passed backwards and forwards through it to Tibet. Since the treaty of Sagauli (1816), framed with characteristic foresight by the Marquess of Hastings, established our relations with Nepal upon a lasting basis, a representative of the British Government has always been stationed at Kāthmāndu. European visitors, however, have only been admitted within strictly defined limits. Ever since Bhim Sen Thapa took the reins of government into his hands more than a century ago, the kingdom has been practically ruled by the Prime Minister for the time being; and, fortunately for the country, that office has been held by a succession of men of outstanding ability, strength of character and breadth of view. General Bruce, in his discerning foreword, compares the system with the conditions pertaining in old Japan or in France under the Carlovingians. Perhaps an even closer comparison may be drawn with the Rājas and Peshwas of the Marāṭhā empire during the last hundred years of its existence. Analogies also suggest themselves with Bhutān, with its Dharma Rāja, or spiritual head, and its Deb Rāja, the temporal ruler, and of Tibet with its Tashi and Dalai Lamas.

In Chapter IV Professor Turner gives a brief but suggestive account of the races and tribes met with and of the numerous languages and dialects spoken within the kingdom, about most of which our knowledge is still very defective. In no part of India are we faced with more problems of deep ethnological and linguistic interest. Let us hope that a continuance of the able and progressive administration by the Darbār,



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which has already achieved remarkable advances in many directions, will also arouse interest in these subjects among the people themselves and call forth research workers capable of pursuing the inquiries so admirably begun nearly a century ago by that great scholar Brian Hodgson.

The authors, both of whom have served as Gurkha Rifles officers themselves, are specially competent to describe the soldier races of these hills. Major Northey has entered Nepal on several occasions, and Captain Morris, besides his professional knowledge, has already acquired distinction by his explorative work in more than one area of the higher Himalayas.

C. E. A. W. O.

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British Routes to India. By Halford Lancaster Hoskins. 8vo, pp. xvi + 494, 9 plates and 2 maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. 30*s*.

In this excellent treatise Professor Hoskins has given us a comprehensive history of the long continued efforts made to establish communication between India and England, alike by way of Egypt and by the Aleppo-Basra route. It is an interesting story of sustained endeavour, punctuated by failure, and succeeding at last, as regards the Egypt route, chiefly owing to the genius and untiring energy of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Probably what will attract most attention is the narrative of the fight over the concession for the Suez Canal, in which the English Foreign Office played an obstructive part. Incidentally much political history comes into the theme, particularly as to French schemes in Egypt and Russian intrigues in Turkey and Persia. So comprehensive is the author's plan that it includes somewhat detailed accounts of the survey work of the Bombay Marine, the capture of Aden, the development of the steamship, the extension of the European telegraph lines to India and the Far East,

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and the organization of the postal system between India and the home country.

The book has some useful illustrations and a good index. In the very probable event of a second edition being called for, a few corrections will doubtless be made. On p. 33 "fears" is misprinted "feats"; on p. 34 Dundas is wrongly designated as Chairman of the East India Company, though his correct position is given ten pages later; John Henry Grose is called Sir Henry Grose in a note on p. 83; and the hoary error of "Marquis *of* Wellesley" appears on p. 90.

W. F.

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EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA (1587–1743). By Professor D. G. E. HALL, University of Rangoon. Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

A good book on this abstruse and difficult subject has long been wanted by researchers, and the new University of Rangoon has done well in publishing this one as its first publication, for it has been admirably put together and produced in exactly the right way. Professor Hall has gone throughout to the original sources, which he has dragged to light out of their hiding-places with a labour that has obviously been immense, and it is a blessing to think that such work has been done at last.

Professor Hall deals separately with eleven subjects relating to the efforts of the English to establish a trade with Burma in the seventeenth century, which practically all failed. The whole question has been hitherto obscure, and none of the efforts have been easy to follow. In some cases, indeed—e.g. the trouble at Negrais in 1686–7—one cannot be too grateful for the clearing up of difficulties. The whole book indeed is filled with information that will be new to most readers, and it may be noted that Professor Hall has the courage of the opinions he has formed as the

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result of his own labours—witness Appendix II on the Alleged Existence of English Factories before 1647—in which he combats the ideas of all his predecessors. Altogether the book is a real advance in historical study in Burma.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYANISIMA, PEGU. By C. O. BLAGDEN, with atlas of 24 plates. Epigraphia Birmanica, Archæological Survey of Burma. Rangoon: Government Press. 4*s*. 6*d*. and 7*s*. 6*d*.

Once again have the celebrated Kalyani Inscriptions been brought to public notice, and this time in a sumptuous though very cheap form. If I recollect rightly in 1892 Taw Sein Ko, then a young man, made some remarks in the *Indian Antiquary* on the inscriptions at the Kalyanisima, known to have been cut on ten stones—three in Pali and seven in Môn—with their bases *in situ*, in a suburb of Pegu town. About the same time the Government authorized me, as Archæological Officer, to arrange to set up the Pali stones again, so far as practicable. They were represented only by pieces, chiefly on the ground, and the work was eventually accomplished at the hands of enthusiastic officers of the Burma Public Works Department. The reason that the restoration was restricted to the Pali stones was that they could be read, and then the fragments could be replaced in appropriate positions just as they had originally stood; but Môn was then a little known language and it was impossible to restore the Môn stones in the same way. All the stones had been badly broken by deliberate iconoclasts, and much of the legends was lost, but fortunately their main subject was the consecration of a *simâ*, or *thêng* as the modern Burmans call it—a place for ecclesiastical meetings and the performance of ordination and similar ceremonies. The consecration ceremony of such a place is so important therefore in Buddhist

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eyes that the record of such ceremonies has never materially varied, and it was possible to place the fragments of the Kalyani stones in their proper position from the readings of the MSS. still in existence, so accurate had their reproduction through the centuries proved to be.

I may here remark on the advance during the last forty years that has been made in archæological surveys in the Indian Empire. About 1890 the Government of India resolved to look seriously into the antiquities of the country, and proceeded to direct the many local governments to appoint archæological officers. This they set to work to do each in its own way. Burma was then very poor after the Third Burmese War of 1885–9, and so that Government duly appointed myself to that post and Taw Sein Ko to help, but there were no office allowances whatever, and we were both otherwise busy administrative officials. Moreover, what work was done in the archæological field had to be performed at our own expense in such little leisure as we had, but now we find a survey department with full-time officials who are, I may say, most competent officers into the bargain. The first publication of the Kalyani Inscriptions fell to me in the *Indian Antiquary*, and Taw Sein Ko's all-important articles—good to the present day—on the Pali stones were the result. I am glad to note that Mr. Blagden has acknowledged the value they have been to him in the book under notice. It should be added that the once well-known archæologist, Dr. Forchhammer, who has long since passed away, was the first to notice the importance of these inscriptions and to take transcripts of their fragments.

Fortunately, also, the Kalyani stones bear a long introduction, which contains minutely dated historical, geographical, and ecclesiastical references of the highest value up to the point when the great Simâ was consecrated in exactly orthodox form in A.D. 1476. In this way, indeed, it will be seen that these inscriptions are of a value that can hardly be surpassed, and they are thus well worthy of all the research

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that can be bestowed on their interpretation, and, it may be said, preservation also.

The Môn text, which is not a translation but a free paraphrase of the Pali—with in some cases entirely fresh matter—has now been dealt with by Mr. Blagden with his customary care, patience, and knowledge, with the help of another great Môn scholar, Mr. R. Halliday, and we may take it that we are in possession at last of a rendering that will last many a long day as authoritative, despite Mr. Blagden's feeling—that every researcher has—that there is much left undone. I would also draw attention to the very many invaluable footnotes that accompany nearly every page, making the whole work a mine of information on every kind of point—linguistic, textual, historical, geographical.

It is impossible in a mere book notice to review this remarkable work in the ordinary sense, and I therefore content myself with congratulating the author and his assistants on the scholarship which has produced it.

R. C. Temple.

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Oraon Religion and Customs. By Sarat Chandra Roy. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv, 418. Ranchi, 1928.

The memorable census of India of 1901, which led to the systematic ethnographic survey of the provinces and states of India by superintendents who had previously qualified for the task during the progress of the census, has produced results of permanent value. We have, on the one hand, the complete records of the tribes and castes of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, and Central Provinces. Further, special works have been published on the tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. As the framer of the scheme which has produced such valuable results, the late Sir Herbert Risley is entitled to the gratitude of anthropologists. As a sequel to these, this new work of Sarat Chandra Roy is to be commended to students as an excellent and detailed study of the

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primitive tribe of Chota Nagpur, known as the Orāons. Though they have not remained unaffected by contact with Hinduism and more recent religious influences, the Orāons display all the primitive characteristics with which students are so familiar in other parts of India.

Among them we find the survival of totemism, the spirit-scaring rites, the precautions for warding off the evil eye, ancestor worship, fertility rites, and tree-marriages which are common to all primitive tribes.

Colonel Hodson, in a brief introduction, pays full tribute to the importance of Sarat Chandra Roy's work, and the learning and ability which he has brought to his task. Within the limits of space permissible for this brief notice, it is only possible to enumerate a few of the more striking points which deserve the attention of the reader of the work. Ancestor worship among the Orāons is known as the cult of the *Pachbalar*. The author, who gives several different spellings of this word, might consider the connection between the *Panchpalava* and *Pachbalar*, as well as Crooke's *Pachbala* or fivefold sacrifice. The *Panchpalava*, or fivefold leaf totem godling of Western India, seems to be a form of the Orāon *Pachbalar*. The prohibition on marriage between families with the same totem is a common feature of early tribes in India. In this case it is supplemented by less familiar prohibitions on marriage between milk-relations, meaning apparently foster children of one mother, and between the families of boys who have entered into a ceremonial friendship with one another (p. 140). Eldest sons may not be married to girls who are eldest daughters. Tanks, wells, fruit-trees, and gardens are married before their fish, water, or fruit may be used. This, as the author remarks, is a practice not confined to the Orāons, though in their case the rites seem to be more than usually elaborate. The work contains some valuable corrections of the work of previous observers, such as Father Dehon and Dalton, to whom we are indebted for much of our information on this subject.

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In warmly congratulating Sarat Chandra Roy on the valuable new light he has thrown on Orāon practices and beliefs in this interesting work, it may be permissible to suggest the desirability of more careful proof correction in subsequent editions of the book. On p. 109, for example, no less than four printer's errors have been overlooked, i.e. sorcerrer, *urld*, hamful, and nail-pairing; and these are numerous throughout the book.

R. E. E.

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THE PEOPLE OF TIBET. By SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. pp. xix + 319, illustrations and 3 maps. Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 1928. 21*s*. net.

Sir Charles Bell in his latest work presents the most detailed and complete picture of the secular life of the people of Central Tibet yet given us. And, when we say this, we do not undervalue the recent contributions of competent European observers, such as Dr. McGovern and Mme David-Neel and of Tibetans themselves in *We Tibetans* by *Rin-chen Lha-mo* (Mrs. L. King) and in a *Tibetan on Tibet* (G. A. Combe), or forget the earlier authorities, among whom may be named Rockhill, Sarat Chandra Das, and Ekai Kawaguchi.

What impresses the reader most is the author's intimate understanding of and complete sympathy with the people, whose mode of life, habits, and mentality are so vividly portrayed in these pages. Racial weaknesses and, to the Western reader, strange customs, which other writers have unduly emphasized or condemned, are here set forth with a kindly moderation and in true perspective. We are told by an independent observer that Sir Charles "aimed at securing their (the Tibetans') sympathy and friendship", and that "his extraordinary regard for Tibetan susceptibilities worked wonders". For instance, when in Tibet, he abstained from food and practices of which the inhabitants disapproved, such as fish, chicken, the use of tobacco, shooting, and fishing.

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This attitude and his command of the formidable colloquial secured for him the confidence of and the most friendly relations with all classes during his twenty years or so of service among Tibetans on both sides of the border.

By a free use of personal reminiscence, proverb, and quotation from native literary works he conveys to the reader in an easy, simple, and lucid manner a wealth of information on the everyday habits and customs of nomads, peasants, nobles, traders, beggars, and even robbers, on the position and occupations of women, on marriage, children, food, drinking, smoking, etiquette, amusements, and funeral rites. Here and there, as is inevitable, occurs some information on religious matters. For, as we are told, "religion lies deep down in the hearts of the Tibetans", and in few other countries can its influence be so strong in the political, social, and domestic spheres, but the author has wisely excluded the religious life as such from his survey in order to treat the secular life more fully.

Two brief introductory chapters adequately describe the physical features and outline the history of the country. The plate, *The Mountain Masses of Tibet*, well suggests its general configuration. But in place of the two general maps we should prefer a physical map on a larger scale of the region dealt with, that is the central provinces of Ü-Tsang, with the Himalayan countries south of the Indo-Tibetan border, Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, and western Bhutan. On p. 5 the west Tibetan countries of Ladakh and Lahul (now politically outside Tibet) are inaccurately spoken of as in southern Tibet. One might supplement the remarks on p. 4 and pp. 110–11 as to the undeveloped mineral wealth of Tibet by direct mention of the long exploited shallow gold mines at Thok Ja-lung in the north-west Chang Tang (v. p. 22 *Tibet, Past and Present*). Can it be that the native legend that Tibet was "formerly all under a sea" somehow recalls a dim memory of the Tethys ocean that long ago covered central Asia? The belief that in old days

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precipitation was greater and trees more plentiful than now seems well founded.

As we read on, we gradually realize the blend of qualities which constitute the Tibetan character. Religious, superstitious, stolid, and industrious, where there is work to do, the peasant is curious, light-hearted, and fond of society and recreation. Inclined to be independent and democratic, he defers to his superior, be he feudal noble, official, or ecclesiastic. He is enduring and patient rather than actively brave in war, unlike his martial ancestors of the seventh and eighth centuries, who subdued much of China, central Asia, and north India, and in whose time the Bay of Bengal was known as the Tibetan sea. Nowadays the nobles strongly dislike a military career. The up-to-date Commander-in-Chief, Tsa-rong Shap-pe, for instance, is not a member of one of the great noble families. Of course, in different regions, the people display varying qualities. We hear of the stupidity of the Pem-po and the bravery of the Kam-pas, who are also notoriously treacherous, or, as the proverb runs, "have not the long-tailed monkey's tail."

In the high steppes we are introduced to the simple and hardy pastoral folk, "probably the purest specimens of the race," whose countless flocks and herds yield products essential to the domestic economy of all classes. It is their wool, the export of which makes possible the import of foreign goods, such as silk, cotton, and woollen stuffs and tea. As in Burma, there is a prejudice against drinking milk, which is converted either into cheese or the butter that is consumed in enormous quantities, and, preferably in a quite rancid state, in tea, and is also used in temples. Only a few of the stricter lamas entirely abstain from animal food. While among the upper classes elaborate Chinese dishes are popular, the common people, in addition to their parched barley or *tsam-ba*, readily eat mutton and yak's meat raw, putrescent, or putrid, often four or five years old. So the Buddhist precept against taking life is seldom observed in the cold climate of Tibet,

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and reasons for departing from it are, we are told, easily found. We hear that in the dry cold air grain has kept good in granaries for several hundred years. A Tibetan thinks nothing of drinking forty or fifty cups of tea a day, and may reach eighty. The weak barley beer he takes freely. As Sir Charles was told, "there is no sustained work without tea or beer," and again in archery contests, "Beer must be drunk . . . otherwise the shoulder shakes and the arrow does not go hot to the target."

There is in Tibet and Bhutan an official and religious ban on the "use of the evil, stinking, poisonous weed, tobacco," though snuff is taken. Unlike the American Indian belief, that of all offerings tobacco appeases the gods most, "the spirits of Tibet dislike the smell." In British territory cigarette smoking by Tibetans is lamentably heavy and, even in Lhasa, is often indulged in on the quiet. Dr. McGovern writes that the Commander-in-Chief smokes a pipe in his house at Lhasa. The same gentleman gave Sir Charles a private cinema performance. We also hear of other modernist tendencies creeping in and intruding upon the medievalism of Tibet.

While it is difficult to select out of so many pages all full of interest, we may, perhaps, mention the description of the still important medieval feudal nobility, which with the monastic body, fills the high government posts, and the chapters on women and their position, as amongst the most valuable and containing facts not to be readily found elsewhere. The author's official position, and his friendship with several Lhasa nobles and social intercourse with them in their town and country homes gave him unusual opportunities for inside observation. The exceptionally high status and capability of women, which other writers have remarked on, are duly emphasized at some length. Women's importance is to some extent due to polyandry, which is followed to a varying degree in different parts.

In connection with the remarks in chapter xix on names, we should have welcomed any light on the use of *rus-pa*,

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or clan names in central Tibet. Long ago Sir James Lyall drew attention to them in Spi-ti, where some thirty-five or so are known. Among them occurs Do-ring-pa, the name of the noble Lhasa family. Research would probably show that many clan names occur throughout Tibet, and are not merely local. The author writes Tibetan words in a simplified phonetic form representing the Lhasan pronunciation for the benefit of the general reader, but also at times gives the Tibetan equivalent in the footnotes. The book is copiously illustrated, mostly with the author's own excellent photographs, and is well indexed. Two appendices deal with the unit of land taxation and the income from the large government Ser-chok estate at Gyangtse.

With this indication of the subject matter, we leave the reader under Sir Charles Bell's sure guidance to explore the highways and byways of Tibetan life.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

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UNE GRAMMAIRE TIBÉTAINE DU TIBÉTAIN CLASSIQUE. LES ŚLOKAS GRAMMATICAUX DE THONMI SAMBHOṬA, avec leurs commentaires, traduits du Tibétain et annotés par JACQUES BACOT (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études—Tome Trente-Septième). 10×7, pp. 232 + 8 plates. Paris: Geuthner.

This is a work of the highest importance for Tibetan studies, and is produced with all the care and knowledge which we are entitled to expect from a scholar of the high attainments of M. Bacot.

Thonmi Sambhoṭa is the greatest figure in the history of the Tibetan language; not only did he write its first grammar, but it is probable that it was he alone who made the language of his rude mountaineer ancestors a fit medium for the expression of one of the most intricate and difficult religious philosophies that the world has ever produced.

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To what extent he simply codified the rules of an existing language and to what extent he created a purely artificial language is still, and perhaps will always remain, uncertain, but there can be little doubt that his contribution was a considerable one. Moreover, his work is the foundation on which all subsequent native grammarians have built. We are therefore greatly indebted to M. Bacot for having produced an *editio princeps* which is at the same time a definitive edition of this work and its principal commentary.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to regard this work as a suitable introduction to the language for European students. As M. Bacot himself says, it was written by a Tibetan for Tibetans, and is, therefore, rather an exposition of the mechanism of the language for those who already know it than an introduction to the language for those who do not. M. Bacot has endeavoured to a certain extent to mould it to the latter purpose, particularly in his " Conclusion. Êléments et méchanisme du Tibétain Littéraire ", and it is a great pity that this was not put at the beginning instead of the end of the book and that a number of summarized statements which are scattered through the book, were not inserted in it. The student would then have had a corpus of information at the beginning to which he could refer back; as it is, he is almost compelled to construct such a corpus for himself as he goes along, and the result is that he has to read the book two or three times before the light finally dawns on him. There is a further difficulty in the fact that Thonmi Sambhoṭa attempted somewhat unsuccessfully to fit the language to the Procrustean bed of Indian grammatical science. This makes the work much harder for a European to understand, but that, of course, is not M. Bacot's fault.

One further small criticism. The book, at 200 francs, is unnecessarily expensive. The whole text of the *ślokas* and commentary is printed in Tibetan characters, with interlinear transliteration; the *ślokas* themselves are printed again separately in Tibetan characters and transliteration; and

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finally there is a phototype reproduction of the whole MS. In the translation of the *ślokas* and commentary the grammatical examples are printed in Tibetan characters without transliteration. This lavishness was really unnecessary. It would have been quite reasonable to dispense with the phototype reproduction, or to confine it to a single specimen plate. After all, no one is going to challenge M. Bacot's transcription of the original.

Then the transliteration of the text of the *ślokas* and commentary, which will only be consulted by advanced students, might have been omitted as superfluous, the *ślokas* themselves being repeated in transliteration only.

On the other hand, the grammatical examples, which the beginner must read, might well have been in transliteration.

All these measures would have reduced the cost of the work, and would therefore, as is evidenced by the resolutions of the last International Congress of Orientalists, have been welcomed by the mass of students, who, after all, are the people who have got to pay.

G. L. M. Clauson.

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The Year Book of Japanese Art, 1927. Published by the National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association. First Annual Issue. Printed in Japan. Price: yen 8.00.

In an English Preface Mr. Saburo Yamada, the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, gives the genesis of this publication, which marks an era in Japanese evolution and describes how the work, first written in Japanese, has been translated article by article into English; how the Committee debated for a long time as to whether the French or English language should be used, and as to whether the translation should be published by the Committee itself or be given to a foreign publisher.

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As the book is primarily "informative", not literary, a discussion of its subject matter is essential. The nineteen chapter headings clearly indicate its scope: 1, Introduction; 2, National Treasures and Buildings under Special Protection; 3, Art Museums; 4, Shoso-in Repository; 5, The Imperial Fine Arts Academy and Artists to the Imperial Household; 6, Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibitions; 7, Exhibitions held by the Institute of Japanese Art; 8, Nikakai Art Exhibitions; 9, Other Exhibitions; 10, Exhibitions of Ancient Art; 11, Exhibition of Famous Works of Art of the Meiji and Taisho Eras; 12, Western Art Exhibitions; 13, Principal Buildings; 14, The Principal Schools and Institutes of Fine Art in Japan; 15, Art Organizations; 16, Auction Sales of Works of Art; 17, The Study of Art in Japan; 18, Illustrated Catalogues of Exhibitions and Other Reproductions of Works of Art; 19, Directory of Artists and Art Workers.

In addition to these, which are most ably written, there is a delightful Appendix in the shape of an essay by that great critic of Oriental art, Professor Sei-ichi Taki: a "Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taishō Eras". This is followed by 120 plates, being reproductions of the pictures shown at the Exhibition of Famous Works of these same periods.

The binding and end papers are charming, and the volume is of extraordinary interest as a document treating the earnest attempt made by Japanese artists and men of learning to synthesize and fuse the apparently contradictory arts of East and West.

Professor Sei-ichi Taki ends his essay with the words: "In what direction then should be the aim of Japanese painting in our present generation? I would answer that Subjectivism must be given a more important place in our art. Yet by this I do not mean the mere revival of the time-worn school of *Bunjin-gwa* itself nor the blind imitation of the European Expressionism, but the adoption rather of the

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best elements of Idealism, Naturalism, and Æsthetic Formalism which have hitherto influenced our fine arts, besides the free harmonious employment of these principles on a broader basis. This is quite other than narrow individualism. We should remember that a great personality must underlie each work produced according to these principles."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

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ARCHAIC CHINESE JADES. Collected in China by A. W. BAHR. Now in Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Described by BERTHOLD LAUFER. 36 plates, 3 of which are coloured. New York: Privately printed for A. W. Bahr, 1927.

This beautiful little volume is from the Lakeside Press, Chicago, and contains within its slim covers much of deep interest to students of art and archæology. In a short Preface Mr. Bahr explains that during a visit to China in 1926, he was enabled, by the disturbed conditions then prevailing, to add to his already comprehensive collection of jade "hitherto unobtainable specimens from famous private collections, as well as jades from the recent excavations in Ho-nan".

Among these specimens are a number from the collection of Wu Ta-ch'êng, whose study of ancient jades, the *Ku Yü T'u K'ao* published in 1889, is the most recent and most valuable contribution to the subject, which indeed served as the basis of Dr. Laufer's well-known volume on the subject. Dr. Laufer, who has made the subject of Chinese Jades peculiarly his own, treats these and the other specimens collected by Mr. Bahr in a series of illuminating notes and an exceedingly interesting Introduction. The jades described have passed into the possession of the Field Museum, Chicago, which now owns about a thousand pieces, of all

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ages, the archaic jades being especially well represented. The little monograph is a valuable addition to the literature on a subject of vital interest to every student of Far Eastern art.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

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DRAGONS ET GÈNIES. Contes Rares et Récits Légendaires inédits recueillis oralement au pays d'Annam et traduits par E. Langlet. Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 31 Rue Jacob, Paris VIe, 1928.

Monsieur Langlet has made a sympathetic study of the people among whom he has lived and, as he says in the charming letter to his friend Hoang Ngoc Hué, with which the book opens, has found that a simple unquestioning acceptance on his part of the principles of magic has had a remarkable result. The people have gladly told him their tales, and have freely discussed the local legends which have been transmitted from generation to generation. He concludes his "avant-propos" with words which are equally applicable to the vast country which stretches to the North and East of Annam :—

"Ce passé était hier encore voisin du présent. Il s'en éloigne maintenant à grands pas et d'autant plus vite que, sous notre impulsion, des idées modernes, des besoins nouveaux ont fait entrevoir à l'Annamite des horizons insoupçonnés jadis.

"A notre suite, il s'est précipité vers un avenir qu'il suppose meilleur ; si cette évolution est trop rapide, il est à craindre qu'il perde trop vite le contact avec le passé et qu'il oublie trop tôt les quelque vingt siècles de morale au cours desquels il avait pris le meilleur de ses qualités."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

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LES JOYAUX DE L'ORIENT. Tome ii. Les poêmes érotiques ou ghazels de Chems ed Dîn Mohammed Hâfiz en calque rhythmique et avec rime à la persane, accompagnés d'une introduction et de notes d'après le commentaire de Soudî. Par ARTHUR GUY. Tome premier. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.

Hafiz in French is almost a novelty. There are versions of a few odes by Defrémery (1858), and Nicolas (1898), but very little else; for when M. Guy writes (Introduction, p. xxxvii): "il paraît que Sir William Jones, qui a traduit Ḥâfiz en vers anglais, a aussi publié, en 1799, une traduction française," he does the English orientalist too much honour. The ghazels translated by Sir W. Jones into either language were but a handful, picked here and there; the ten which he turned into French prose and verse will be found in his *Traité sur la poésie orientale* (*Works*, 1807, vol. xii, pp. 220–70). French readers, therefore, should welcome the present volume, which comprises the first instalment (*Odes* 1–175) of a complete translation of the *Diwán*.

Like Walter Leaf in his *Versions from Hafiz*, M. Guy has endeavoured to reproduce not only the meaning of the original poems, but also their form (metre and monorhyme). Notwithstanding these extremely difficult conditions, his version is as faithful as can reasonably be expected of a translator in verse, and often unites lucidity with elegance, though in a manner that fails to suggest, as Gertrude Bell's free renderings certainly do suggest, that Hafiz is a great poet. While giving M. Guy full credit for his ingenuity and resource in surmounting self-imposed obstacles, we may doubt whether the game is worth the candle, when in the translation of a single ode (No. VI) we find two forced allusions to Greek mythology—"l'Aimé rival d'Aréthuse" for آن یار آشنارا and "les lèvres des muses" for قُبلة العذارا. Trifling as such things are, they show the weakness of a method which requires the translator to concentrate his energies on formal imitation.

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The complete translation in German verse by Rosenzweig (1858), is less one-sided and still remains the best that has appeared in a European language.

M. Guy has some excellent remarks on the style of Hafiz, his use of symbolism, and the essential character of his poetry. "Ces peintures de la passion pour la coupe ou l'aimé sont dépourvues de toute recherche d'effet sensuel. L'action est dans la pensée. Les détails matériels nécessaires pour la soutenir, les images dont tout poète a besoin pour réaliser ses créations, les vêtements d'idées sont en petit nombre, impersonnels, et font figure de symboles. Les mêmes expressions, les mêmes groupes de noms et épithètes reviennent constamment et on se rend bien compte que Hâfiz ne veut pas décrire des émotions, des états de l'esprit et du coeur en association avec les sens, et encore moins de pures sensations, mais qu'il veut plutôt évoquer des idées, des idées générales, immatérielles, transcendantes. Oui, les coupes circulent en imagination, le vin coule à plots, l'ivresse règne dans l'esprit." This is the Persian interpretation of Hafiz, and probably it is the true one.

A miniature in Brit. Mus. Add. 7468, representing Hafiz with his patron Sháh Abú Isḥáq, which is also reproduced in Professor Browne's *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, provides the frontispiece to a well printed and attractive volume.

R. A. N.

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AS-SUYUTI'S WHO'S WHO IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Nazm ul-'Iqyān fī A'yān-il-A'yān. Edited by PHILIP K. HITTI, Ph.D. New York: Syrian-American Press, 1927.

By discovering and editing this work of Suyúṭí, Professor Hitti has added a minor, but not unimportant, item to the long list of Muslim biographical dictionaries. It contains two hundred articles very unequal in length and value.

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About half of it is devoted to persons whose names begin with the letter *alif*, but from that point its hitherto respectable figure rapidly *desinit in piscem*. Still, it is a source, if not a mine, of new information, since the author chiefly writes of contemporaries, some of whom were personally known to him; one of these is his own father. Egypt and Syria supply most of the material; theologians, jurists, and scholars preponderate; there are also sultans and kings, including Sháhrukh (who is dismissed in three lines); and a few notable women.

The text is based on a Cairo MS. dated 1097 A.H., belonging to Aḥmad Taymúr Pasha, of which the Beyrout MS. (Professor Hitti's) is an inaccurate copy. The only other known MS., that of Leiden, entitled اعيان الاعيان وابناء الزمان, was transcribed in 974 A.H.; it seems to have been the original of the Cairo MS., but the editor regards the latter as more correct. He has taken great pains to improve it by consulting the *Ḍaw' al-Lámi'* of Sakháwí, which covers the same period, and many other biographical works. In his Arabic preface, after having dealt fully with textual questions, he gives an admirable sketch of Suyúṭí's life and character. Students will be grateful for the index of all the book-titles mentioned in the text, but why is there no index of persons, not even of the two hundred who receive particular notice? It would have saved trouble, as of course they are arranged in the alphabetical order of their "Christian" names, and these are often much less familiar than their surnames or patronymics. The appearance of the Arabic print composed on the linotype is likely to commend that process to publishers of Oriental texts.

R. A. N.

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ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES. By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS-JACKSON. (Colombia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. xii.) xxxiii + 325 pp. New York: Humphrey Milford, Colombia University Press. 20*s*.

"When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past
All men of prudence rede and Faith shall give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live
Yet live I shall, the seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and henceforth I shall not die."

With these words [1] Firdausi ended the Shah-namah, and they are a fitting preface to a review of the present work, in which Professor Williams-Jackson marshals and summarizes rather than develops, the conclusions which he has reached during a lifelong study of the earliest and the most spiritual of organized Eastern religions.

It is a book which has long been needed, and is particularly welcome to-day, when signs are not lacking that the prestige of the orthodox Islamic faith is waning in Persia, and that the younger generation of educated men is showing an interest, if only sentimental, in the older faith. In this connection it may be mentioned that in a recent lithograph, widely circulated all over Persia, to celebrate the coronation of Riza Shah, Iran is depicted as a damsel reclining on the waters of the Gulf and leaning on the Shah, on whom shines the sun; in the background are Zoroaster, Cyrus, Hushang, and other great figures of the past, but there is no Islamic figure nor even symbol, though the Shiahs of Persia are not averse to painting Muhammad or Ali.

It is impossible within the compass of a brief review to do justice to the ripe scholarship, the conscientious citation of authorities, and the orderly presentation of ascertained fact and accepted theory which characterize this volume.

[1] A. G. & E. Warner. The Shahnamah of Firdausi, 9 Vols. 1925. Professor Jackson in his bibliography does not refer to this most scholarly and delightful translation.

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Of pre-Zoroastrian religion he has little to say, bidding us, in a footnote, await a book on the subject by L. H. Gray, now in press. Of the two later stages in the Iranian faith, viz. the Zoroastrian revelation and the post-Zoroastrian evolution, Professor Williams-Jackson gives us a closely documented and clearly reasoned study. A careful examination of "Zoroastrianism as a faith" (ch. iv) leads him to the conclusion that "Dualism is a characteristic feature of Zoroaster's creed. Whatever may have suggested it, the teaching of this doctrine, in its fullest sense, is doubtless a product of his own insight". If an unlearned layman may presume, however diffidently, to offer a criticism, the present reviewer would venture to suggest that the dualism of Zoroaster is perhaps less distinctive than is here suggested, and was probably an essential element in pre-Zoroastrian beliefs, as Professor Jackson admits (p. 30), and probably of pre-Zoroastrian teaching. "The tree of knowledge of good and evil" is mentioned in the opening chapter of Genesis, and some form of dualism is suggested in the appeal of the doleful breviaries of Nippur to the beneficent mother goddess to appease the angry spirit of the wrathful gods. (*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 443.)

He mentions (p. 33) that the faith of modern Parsees resembles Christianity in more than one respect, but attempts no comparison. Perhaps the most notable difference is the absence of any trace of the idea of atonement: it is likewise absent from the tenets of Sunni orthodoxy, but not from those of the Shiah schism. The Imam Husain has a place in the affections of Shiah Persia that has no parallel outside the Christian communion. He is at once their sacrifice and their saviour, and is by them exalted above the Prophet himself. It is a curious fact that in accepting Islam, Persians should have emphasized, with such passionate devotion, an aspect of religion which is alike foreign to Islam and to the religion of Zoroaster, which has affected so profoundly the national outlook in religious matters.

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If Professor Williams-Jackson can bring himself to compress the substance of his conclusions, so skilfully and attractively set forth in this book, within the compass of a hundred pages or so, and procure its translation into Persian by competent hands, it is the reviewer's belief that it would command a ready sale in Persia, where it would meet a real need.

Oriental scholarship has long flowered in the college cloisters of Europe and more recently, but not less brilliantly, in those of the United States of America. The most urgent need of to-day is to find some means whereby the seeds of learning may be transported to their ancient homes, to burgeon more brilliantly and to bring forth yet more abundantly. Thus only may Europe repay the debt which it owes to the birth-places of civilization.

A. T. WILSON.

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THE ARAMAIC OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: A Grammatical and Lexical Study of its Relations with other early Aramaic Dialects. By H. H. ROWLEY. pp. xiv + 161, 8vo. London, Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1929. 10*s*. 6*d*.

In this book we have a careful investigation into the philological character of the Aramaic texts of the Old Testament, covering the chapters in Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The author has spent intermittently thirteen years on the study of these texts. To this purpose he has collected the whole material extant in Aramaic, inscriptions from Babylon and Zinjerli, Palmyrene and Nabatene inscriptions, and above all the Papyri of Assuan. He has then subjected every word and phrase in the O.T. texts to a minute examination, and he has compared them carefully one by one with all the other monuments mentioned. The result is a very remarkable one. The author comes to the conclusion that the Aramaic texts in the O.T. are neither of Babylonian character or origin, nor are they contemporary

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with the persons to whom they are attributed. From the linguistic point of view they are, on the contrary, of Palestinian origin. They are later in date than the Papyri of Assuan, but older than the other Aramaic monuments. He believes that they belong probably to the fourth century, and occasionally he speaks of them in a more doubtful way, making them either a little older or a little more recent.

There is, however, a flaw in these conclusions. All the other monuments which the author cites have not passed through the hands of any copyist, and therefore are not likely to have undergone any change at the hand of the latter. They have been preserved in the very form in which they had been written or inscribed. Not so with the documents in the O.T. It would have been a miracle if the scribes who copied them in Palestine, and introduced them among the Sacred Scriptures, should not have changed involuntarily or unconsciously the original Babylonian character into one more familiar. And even so, in spite of the care taken by the scribes of the O.T. the manuscripts of the Bible vary considerably, both in words and vocalization. This can best be seen by the constant changes and alterations in the various editions of these very texts published by Strack. The genuineness and high antiquity of these documents is, however, not affected by these results. On the other hand, the fact that these texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, may belong to the fourth or fifth century B.C.E., proves that the Book of Daniel is anterior to the Hellenizing period after the conquest of Alexander. This may affect also the date of the Oracle in the last chapters of Daniel, although they are found now in Hebrew. Mr. Rowley has rendered a signal service to the student of Aramaic texts. This book, moreover, is a very valuable contribution to the comparative study of Aramaic.

M. GASTER.

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GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE SEMITISCHEN SPRACHEN. SPRACHPROBEN UND GRAMMATISCHE SKIZZEN. MAX HUEBER VERLAG. pp. xv + 192, 8vo. Munchen, 1928. 16*s*. 3*d*.

The author of this book has had an excellent idea. There can be no better help to the beginner than to place in his hands a series of texts from all the Semitic languages, in careful transliteration in Latin type, with the literal translation side by side, such as given in this book. We have here specimens from Akkadian (i.e. Babylonian, mostly from the Hammurábi Code), Hebrew, Aramaic, South Arabian-Ethiopic and North Arabian, with numerous sub-dialects. The author uses a strictly scientific system of transliteration, and endeavours to reproduce as exactly as possible the original consonants and vowels. At the head of each text there is a short explanatory introduction ; then there are some grammatical notes ; and the book finishes with a list of words common to all the Semitic languages. On the one hand, one sees at a glance the peculiar character in which each word appears, and on the other, in their totality these words may assist in the reconstruction of primitive Semitic culture. This is practically what the author describes in the first chapter as Primitive Semitic culture. In spite of the care bestowed upon the transliteration, one cannot suppress some doubts as to whether the author has not been misled in one case or another, so e.g. the Hebrew text on p. 48, " according to Babylonian punctuation." The author assumes that there is no " raphe " pronunciation, and transliterates the letters as " k " and " p ", where there is no justification for it. In that system there is indeed no separate sign for Pataḥ and Segol, but it is doubtful whether the vowel thus represented is a full " a ". Turning to the Mandean, the author has only given letter for letter in his transliteration. But the Mandean is not pronounced in the way in which it is written, e.g. " g " is often read like " kh " ; nor are the vowels clearly distinguished in the pronunciation. It might, therefore,

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have been advisable if the author had drawn the attention of the student to these difficulties and the doubts in the pronunciation which Semitic texts in general offer to the student.

M. GASTER.

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KITAB ZAINU'L-AKHBAR. Composed by ABU SA'ID 'ABDU'L-ḤAYY B. AḌ-ḌAHHAK B. MAḤMUD GARDIZI about A.H. 440. Edited by MUHAMMAD NAZIM, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Muslim University Aligarh. E. G. Browne Memorial Series, 1. Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag Iranschähr, Berlin, 1928.

The edition of this Persian text inaugurates a series to be published in memory of the late Professor E. G. Browne. Oddly enough, in Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Gardízí's *zayn al-akhbár* is not mentioned. Yet it is one of the very earliest modern Persian prose works that have survived, and at the same time is of considerable historical importance. Thus Professor Barthold, who has published extracts from it in the Russian edition of his *Turkestan*, writes that it "must be considered as the chief source for the study of the history of Khurásán down to the end of and including the Samanid period". The whole work, as extant, includes chapters on ancient Persian history, on the caliphs and other Moslem rulers, on the Greeks, on chronology and the feast-days of various nations, on the Turks and on India, as well as that now published. This consists of the history of Khurásán from the appointment of Ṭáhir ibn al-Ḥusayn as governor down to the author's own times (i.e. from early in the third to early in the fifth century A.H.). It is really divided into two parts, as Gardízí himself indicates. The first is that mentioned by Professor Barthold, which the author compiled from previous histories; the second deals with the reigns of Maḥmúd and Mas'úd of Ghazneh, which he was able to describe as a contemporary. Both are equally valuable,

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since the sources for the first are for the most part lost to us. Throughout, however, as the editor remarks, Gardízí cuts down his narrative to the barest essentials. Indeed, his statements are often so bald as to be inexplicable without comparison with other authorities. Perhaps the book's chief merit lies in the plentiful suppply it affords us of names and dates.

The editor has had the baffling task of working on what is virtually a single manuscript; for although of the *zayn al-akhbár* two codices are known to exist, the Oxford codex is no more than a copy of the Cambridge. Consequently many passages remain obscure. The editor often supplies interpretations—his own and Professor Barthold's—with numerous historical references, which, he complains, lack of space has forbidden him to multiply. He also elucidates the narrative with well-judged amplifications, distinguished by square brackets.

In the circumstances, it is no wonder if he has mistaken the meaning of some passages. On p. 22, for example, he takes *páris-i buzurg* to be a place-name (as appears from the index). But I think that the words (whatever the sentence may mean) must refer to the chamberlain called by Ibn al-Athír *báris al-kabír*, especially since on p. 35 a certain Aḥmad is described as "the brother of Páris". On p. 36, on the other hand, in a highly confused passage, he takes *zhásht ja'far* as a man's name (placing it, however, under *jím* in the index), whereas I would read *amír-i rásht, ja'far* . ., Rásht (mis-spelt Zhásht ?) being the known name of an appropriate province. Apart from questions of interpretation, the Persian text seems correct. The English introduction, however, perhaps owing to its printing in Germany, is not free from misprints.

At the beginning and at the end of the text the editor supplies a list of chapter headings of the remaining extant portions of the *zayn al-akhbár* as they precede or follow the part now edited. He hopes soon to publish them as well.

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It is a pity that no indication is given of the aims and constitution of the Memorial Fund. But its existence is welcome; and its trustees are to be congratulated on choosing for their first publication a valuable and hitherto almost inaccessible work.

HAROLD BOWEN.

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THE FORGOTTEN RULERS (JASTANIDS, KANKARIDS, AND SALARIDS). By S. A. KASRAWI TABRIZI. Vol. I. Teheran, 1928.

This is the first part of a work that may extend to as many as seven parts, of which three have already been composed. The author's aim is to rescue from oblivion the history of some of the earliest of the hundred-odd post-Islamic Persian dynasties that are ignored in the works of such authors as Ḥamd Allah and Mír-Khwánd, and thereby to illustrate the revolt of the Persians during the third and fourth centuries of the Hegira against Arab domination.

In this part he deals with three Daylamite dynasties, the Jastánids, the Kangarids,[1] and the Sálárids; the second part is to be devoted to the Rawwádids of Adharbáyján; and the third to the Shaddádids of Arrán. As a basis for his work, the author has used two manuscripts unearthed by a friend in a Teheran library. The first is a codex of Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Ṭabaristán*, complete but for a few pages missing at the beginning, and free of the many gaps that (as our author claims) mar and frequently render misleading all other known copies, as well as E. G. Browne's translation. The second is a work that was supposed to be no longer extant: the *ta'ríkh-i rúyán* of Mawláná Awliyá Allah. But he also gathers information from numerous printed sources, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Turkish. He has evidently expended great pains on research, and has ingeniously combined the results into a clear and persuasive narrative.

[1] So spelt in the Persian text, though the English title-page has Kankarids.

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The three dynasties with which the present volume is concerned have all been dealt with repeatedly by European Orientalists. The author alludes to their studies, but refrains explicitly from criticizing them for the present. This is somewhat to be regretted, since in many instances his conclusions, based on these newly discovered texts, differ from theirs—though exactly how far only a detailed comparison, of course, could show. The author's most noticeable innovation is the separation of the two latter dynasties, which have hitherto been treated as one (by Justi as Wahsūdāniden, by Huart as Mosâfirides, by Sachau, Ross, and Vasmer, as Banū Sallār or Sallāriden). The Sálárids were an offshoot of the Kangarids; but since the two branches ruled in different places, and since the author is able to show that the name *kangarí* was in contemporary use for the rulers of Ṭáram, his separation is justified historically as well as being convenient. The Rawwádids, with whom the second volume is to deal, being also of the same stock, have likewise been included hitherto in the Banú Sallár. A separate treatment can hardly fail to make their history clearer.

In a preface the author indicates his aims, and apologizes for the fact that what he would have liked to be the history of a popular movement has inevitably resolved itself into a dynastic chronicle. He then introduces the three houses with a description of Daylam, their place of origin. The volume is completed by genealogical tables, appendices, and an index. The present strong nationalist feeling of Persia is reflected not only in the author's aim but in his style; he has meticulously cleansed his vocabulary of all but indispensable Arabic words—without, however, any unpleasing effect of strain. Though he expresses himself dissatisfied with the production of this volume—he was even obliged to change presses mid-way—misprints, for instance, are not noticeable. Let us hope that the next instalment may soon appear.

HAROLD BOWEN.

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SAID BIN SULTAN (1791–1856). Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar. His place in the History of Arabia and East Africa. By RUDOLPH SAID-RUETE. 10 × 6. With several illustrations. London: Alexander Ouseley, Ltd. 16*s*.

A considerable change has since the last century taken place in our ideas respecting the proper character of history. Our forefathers would have considered it vain to expect, and unreasonable to require, a strict and undeviating impartiality. They were content at best to set the prejudices of one side against the prejudices of the other, and to strike the balance between them. A man without opinions on matters of the greatest importance to his countrymen would have been reminded of the law of the Athenians, which forbade any man to be a mere spectator in the contests of his countrymen. Indeed, during the last two years, no less an authority than the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin has publicly expressed his preference for historical works written with a definite and healthy bias; which alone can inspire a work with artistic unity and literary form.

The author of the present work derives his bias from the spirit of filial piety which informs his narrative, and has guided him in the selection from many sources of material for this memoir. His point of view is rather that of the subject of his book than that of a European observer writing almost a century later, and it is correspondingly of greater interest and value than the original sources on which he relies for his biography of his grandfather.

After reading Said-Ruete's lucid and well-documented account few will be found to disagree with Sir Richard Burton's verdict on Said bin Sultan, that he "was probably as shrewd, liberal, and enlightened a prince as Arabia ever produced": he deserves to rank in these respects with two other Arab princes, the late Shaikh Mubarak bin Sabah of Koweit, and Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Faisal al Saud—the present ruler of the greater part of Arabia. In the case of Said bin Sultan and Mubarak, environment and

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external conditions beyond control imposed rigid limitations from which the fortunes of war and the follies of neighbours have enabled Ibn Saud to escape, with what results time alone can show.

A celebrated writer of the eighteenth century defines history as "Philosophy, teaching by examples". Accepting this definition, the present work is of peculiar historical value: it depicts an Arab ruler who combined diplomatic and strategical skill, qualities not uncommon in men of his nation, with the rarer gifts of commercial acumen and consistency of motives, plan and execution. It shows how he succeeded to the leadership of a congeries of weak and disunited tribes and left behind him a prosperous state, to which he had added an overseas dominion in Zanzibar, more valuable by far than the Kingdom of Oman. Though the journey to Zanzibar from Oman took as long as that from London to New Zealand does to-day, and could only be made twice a year, with the trade winds, Said bin Sultan contrived to hold both States, and to make both prosper. But for European intervention he might well have extended his domain to the interior of Africa, substituting a *pax arabica* for the then prevailing anarchy, much as Ibn Saud has done in the great tracts over which he holds sway. But Europe was too strong for Said bin Sultan, and bowing to the inevitable, he made treaties and co-operated with England in the suppression of the slave trade, made friends with the French (who did nothing whatever to discourage slavery), was polite to the representatives of the U.S.A., and other countries, which conferred on him numerous honorary distinctions, and played so skilful a game alike with Persia and with the Wahabis that he was able to retain in his hands extensive and lucrative leases on Persian territory, whilst preventing the Wahabi forces of Central Arabia from becoming a serious menace to Oman.

Said-Ruete has told us, in this work, little that is historically new, but he has told the tale with insight, freshness, and vigour. The Middle East may in the future, as in the past,

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produce a virile race of statesmen and administrators, free from the shackles of "democratic" systems of government, the imposition of which upon Asiatic peoples may yet prove to be the greatest mistake ever committed in the name of civilization. To those students of Eastern affairs who hold this belief, this book will prove, as it has to the present reviewer, alike a stimulus and an inspiration.

A. T. W.

[NOTE.—By the kind permission of the author, members of the Society may obtain copies of this book at 12*s.* 6*d.*, instead of the published price of 16*s.* Application to be made to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society.—EDITOR.]

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KOṬAYYIR-'AZZA DĪWĀN ACCOMPAGNÉ D'UN COMMENTAIRE ARABE ÉDITÉ. Par HENRI PÉRÈS. 8vo, 286 pp. Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1928.

This is not the edition of an ancient manuscript of the collected poems which has been recovered; such a thing is most improbable, because the Diwan of this poet appears to have been lost at an early date. Professor Pérès instead has collected the fragments attributed to the poet in numerous works of Arabic literature and the commentary, in Arabic, is also taken from glosses which may accompany the verses in the sources from which he has derived the verses, or he has supplied them from the explanation given of rare words in the native dictionaries. This is at least my opinion, though the second or third volume containing this information has not been published at present, but the editor has informed me that the printing is well in hand, as also a study of the poet and his works in French.

This is perhaps the best way of making the compositions of lost authors accessible. Most of the poems of Kuthayyir were probably in the shape of short fragments and it would be erroneous to assume that any ancient Arab poet only

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composed complete and long Qasīdas. We did possess at least one long poem of forty-seven verses, taken from an ancient manuscript, in Schwarz's *Escorial Studien* (Stuttgart, 1922), but the present work contains in its first volume eighty-five fragments, some consisting only of one single verse, and none as long as the poem mentioned.

Kuthayyir is known in Arabic literature chiefly for his love for a woman named Azza, to whom also the long poem, the most celebrated of the poet, found in the *Amālī of al-Qālī*, II, 109–111, is devoted. Al-Marzubānī in the Mu'jam ash-Shu'ara' (Berlin MS.) devotes a short notice to our poet, and tells us that he was of short stature, with a long neck, red faced, with spots on the face. In addition, like many small men, he had a very great opinion of himself and was very haughty; also that he died in al-Medina in the year 105 A.H. on the same day as 'Ikrima, the mawla of Ibn 'Abbās, and that he was one or two years above 80 years of age. He was a fervent, or even bigoted, Shi'ah, and as such attacked 'Abd Allāh ibn az-Zubair with his verses. His Shī'ah tendencies did not prevent him from composing poems in praise of the Umayyade caliphs, as it meant pocketing their rewards.

The language as a rule is very simple, and rare expressions occur only occasionally, and these may be of some importance for a study of the Ḥijāz dialect. He is cited several hundred times in the Lisān al-'Arab as evidence for the use of words explained.

The editor has vocalized all the verses, while the commentary has vowels only in cases of absolute necessity. As the type is very small, some misprints have escaped the editor. P. 13, I should like to read يبيع الحنط والقطران "he sells spices and pitch"; p. 30, v. 16, in commentary صغير القطر; p. 34, l. 4, read فى الصبا; p. 35, paen., read دخلت; p. 60, ult. read ارادة; p. 74, v. 15, read فشبّ; p. 82, v. 15, I think خدورها would be better; p. 97, l. 1, read بقر; same page, v. 7, read أَرْكُبُ, cf. L.A., i, 414, 8, and



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consequently the commentary is wrong; p. 107, read آرِك a rare plural of أَرِاك; p. 116, v. 7, read ظام for ظامئ dialect of the Hijāz which suppresses Hamza, but in commentary العطش; p. 118, v. 2, I should think the correct reading is صِوار; p. 138, read ننالك; p. 155, v. 10, read ضبا جَحولا hence the commentary is wrong, which should read الجَحول العظيم من لضباب. The word in this meaning for large vermin, etc., is fairly frequent; p. 163, No. 43, v. 1, I should like to read يَلتقّ حَرُّها بركبانها. I have found the verse only in Khiz. III, p. 154, where it is said to have been taken from the 'Ubāb of Ṣāghānī; p. 166, l. 1, read تفسير; p. 168, l. 18, read بمؤخَر; p. 170, l. 3, ودان, l. 9, المغبرّ; p. 172, l. 3, here the author has made a slip, we must read الشجاع for الحيّة, as both the verb preceding and the pronoun following are masculine; p. 211, l. 1, read التاج. I have noticed on more than one occasion that the vocalization for significations denoting places participles are in the active construction instead of the passive; this is wrong, cases in question are p. 110, v. 3, and 120, l. 3, where we should read بمندفَع and مستقَعات respectively.[1] The correct form is used in other cases as p. 110, v. 6, and 169, v. 3.

F. Krenkow.

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Le Parler de Kfār 'Abīda (Liban-Syrie). Par Michel T. Feghali. 8vo, 307 pp. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1919.

Syntaxe des Parlers Arabes Actuels du Liban. Par Mgr. Michel Feghali. 8vo, 535 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

When I say that we do not possess any works so complete as the two here mentioned for any of the Arabic spoken dialects, I am in no way exaggerating their intrinsic value. Works of this character are only possible by scholars who from their childhood are conversant with the language and

[1] Cf. Lisān, x, 238, 17.

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have in addition received adequate scientific training. The only fault one can find is that the student who does not make a speciality of the spoken dialects is overwhelmed by the immensity of the material brought together by the author. Yet everything is done in such a systematic manner that one easily finds every phase of the language with ample examples. The phonetic system employed by the author is such that one can readily *hear* the words, and yet he has not committed the folly, found only too often with too strict phoneticians, of fixing a separate dialect for the speech of every individual. While the first of the books mentioned gave the dialect of one township, the second is of a more ambitious character dealing with the spoken language of the Lebanon as a whole, and the author tells us that the idiom for the whole district is for practical purposes the same with the comparatively slight difference that in the northern the influence of Aramaic is felt, while in the south the speech has affinities with the Bedouin dialects of the adjoining plain. The lexicographer will be surprised to find in the examples quoted by the author many a word current to-day, which judging from the written language of many centuries, had long disappeared from ordinary conversation, and was only known by the learned.[1]

But this is not the aim of both works. The author presents lucidly the changes the language has undergone in its deviation from the classic language of Arabic literature. The chapters on the Numerals are highly instructive, and I believe the author has for the first time discovered the phonetic influence upon the use of genders after the units. To the reader of Arabic manuscripts of the Middle Ages, the apparent ignorance of the classical rules must often have been a puzzle, and all European editors of such texts had to do, was continually to put these errors right. A re-investigation of such corrections

[1] The example given by the author "Parlers" (p. 402) of the "Ghurāb al-Bain" is of very frequent occurrence in the Classical, if not exactly meaning "death".

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probably would reveal similar rules. That some Particles of ever-recurring use in classical Arabic as e.g. "Lammā" should have disappeared in the spoken language is very strange, but they are in such cases replaced by others, sometimes by nouns which have assumed the functions of real particles.

The two books contain such a vast amount of material that a short notice like this cannot give an adequate idea of their value, but they will always be models for similar researches into other dialects of the spoken language, and we must look forward with the highest interest to the lexicographical examination of the colloquial promised by the author.

F. KRENKOW.

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LE DIWAN DE 'ORWA BEN EL-WARD: TRADUIT ET ANNOTÉ. Par RENÉ BASSET. 8vo, 73 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

As long ago as 1863, Nöldeke published in the Acts of the Göttingen Academy, the text of the poems taken from the ancient manuscript of Leipzig, which contains other unique pieces, with a German translation, not only of the Dīwān but also of the article devoted to the poet in manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Aghānī.

Professor Prym, when in Cairo, lent a copy of this edition, with other books, to an Egyptian acquaintance which resulted in the edition of the Five Dīwāns (Wahbiyyah Press, 1293 A.H.). This edition has been reprinted since, with all its errors, and it is also the source for the article devoted to 'Urwa in Père Cheikho's collection of Christian Poets (Bairūt, 1890).

No doubt Professor Basset intended to make the French-speaking population acquainted with the compositions of a poet who was a true representative of the liberal Arab robber-chiefs. 'Urwa resembles in many ways the better-

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known Ḥātim of Ṭayyi, with the difference that his collection of poems contains probably very few verses foisted upon him at later times.

'Urwa was nicknamed "'Urwa of the Vagabonds", because he gathered round him poor fellows of various tribes, and with them made raids upon the property of more prosperous tribes. These raids were carried at times to very distant parts of Arabia and we are informed of one along the favourite route, which led from Southern Najd south-westward to the Jauf of Northern Yaman.[1] Whenever they came home laden with plunder, 'Urwa distributed it among his companions, many of whom were able to rejoin their tribes as rich men. It is easy to be generous with stolen property, but among ancient Arabs it was considered no disgrace to rob, only sly stealing was a despicable offence.

Among the pieces in the Dīwān are more than one which refer to 'Urwa having taken among his prey women of other tribes, and keeping them for himself. In two cases it is stated that they remained with him for many years, had children by him, and later on a visit to their relations forsook him, not because they disliked him, but to revindicate their honour. The cases may all refer to one woman only, though their homes, as given in the legends, are rather far apart, one among the Muzaina, who encamped in the neighbourhood of al-Medina, the other in the Yamama, i.e. near the modern Riyāḍ. 'Urwa must have been some man of consideration among his tribe, 'Abs, as we find him in open quarrel with their chief, Qais ibn Zuhair. This also fixes his date approximately in the last quarter of the sixth century of the Hijra.

At the end of his translation, Professor Basset has given several fragments which he had collected from various sources, some of which are, however, given by Nöldeke already in his edition. Others are certainly not by 'Urwa, their

[1] This was the way by which Yamanite kings had made their expeditions to Central Arabia in the time before Islām and is at present practically an unexplored country.

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attribution being due to the carelessness of the authors, who cite them. No. 3 is by al-A'shā ; No. 4 is by 'Amr ibn Qi'ās al-Murādī, and is found in a poem cited in the Khizāna and more correctly in the Kitāb-al-Ikhtiyārain (MS. India Office); No. 8 is by Qais ibn 'Āṣim al-Minqarī or Ḥātim ; No. 10 may be by 'Urwa ibn Ḥizām or 'Urwa ibn Uḍaina, certainly not by 'Urwa ibn al-Ward. The Hamāsa of al-Buḥturī and the Muḥāḍarāt of ar-Rāghib are so full of wrong attributions to poets, that they can only be used in evidence when their statements are confirmed by other sources.

I could add considerably to the list of citations, but only one new verse cited in the Ma'āni of Ibn Qutaiba (MS. India Office, fol. 36, v.).

اذا ما جعلتَ الشاةَ للقوم خُبَّرَةً  فشأنُكَ أنّى ذاهبٌ لشؤوني

"If you give *one* sheep to the men to divide among themselves, then is it thy business that I go after my own affairs."

The word خُبَّرَة is explained as meaning "a sheep which a man buys for a number of people for them to divide among themselves".

The very minute handwriting of the late Professor Basset is no doubt responsible for some misprints, p.40, read Lisan xiii, p. 42, cancel Lisan xiii, 434 ; p. 43, the translation : "et un seul (à peine) recherche la tienne" does not convey what the poet means ; rather "only one person (i.e. yourself) takes a share of thy hospitality !" p. 42, poem xii, 2, instead of "*comme* le fourreau d'epée qui te donnait la victoire" rather "*et* le fourreau *de l'epée* avec lequel tu etais accoutume à attaquer". It is the *sword* which is used for attack, not the scabbard, p. 63, No. ix, v. 3, read يبهرد with Jāḥiẓ, Bayān, v. 4, read يُلْقَى ذوالغِنَى, p. 65, read يَخْنُقون "who strangle themselves". The poet refers to the act of some men of the tribe of 'Āmir who committed suicide rather than be made prisoners. It has escaped the editor that these two verses are actually found in the Dīwān poem, 10, v. 3 and 4. The translation on p. 72 must be corrected accordingly.

The work is another monument to the indefatigable industry

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of my late friend, and should be of great help to students of ancient Arabic poetry, especially those who cannot appreciate it in its original language.

F. KRENKOW.

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LE "ṢAḤĪḤ" D'AL-BUḪĀRĪ: Reproduction en phototypie . . . de la recension . . . d'Ibn Sa'āda établie a Murcie en 492 de l'Hegire (1099 de J.-C.) publié avec une introduction. Par E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL. 30 pp. French Introduction; 39 pp. of Arabic introduction, and 177 folia in facsimilie. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Sa'āda was a pupil of the renowned Spanish traditionist Abū 'Ali al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad ibn Ferro (or Fierro) ibn Ḥayyūn *aṣ-Ṣadafī*, who after long travels in the East, had brought back to Spain copies of the collections of Ḥadīth, by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Ibn Sa'āda, who had become father-in-law to *aṣ-Ṣadafī* copied under the latter's instruction both books, but the copy of Muslim appears to have been lost. Of the manuscript of Bukhari, in five volumes, four have been preserved to this day in the Qarawiyyīn mosque at Fes, while a good copy taken of the first, and lost, volume, exists in another mosque. This manuscript through long ages has been the original which has formed the basis for most of the authentic manuscripts in use in Morocco, but being somewhat difficult of access, and with a view of presenting to Maghribi savants a true copy of the original, this sumptuous edition has been undertaken.

I have compared large portions of the fascimile with the Eastern recension based upon the joint work of al-Yūnīnī and the grammarian Ibn Mālik and have discovered only very unimportant variants. The principal aim, as Professor Levi-Provençal points out, is to supply traditionists in Morocco with the text of an original upon which they look with special reverence.

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In his introduction the editor traces the manuscript as far as it is possible from Murcia to Fes, but there remains a considerable gap after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

On p. 10 of his introduction the editor discusses the identity of the scholar named Yūnīnī who was responsible for the redaction of the Saḥīḥ in conjunction with Ibn Mālik. He is Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abul Ḥusain, son of Muḥammad, who died in 656 A.H. Sharaf ad-Din was born in 631 A.H. His end was tragic, because a poor man came to him and asked for alms, and as Yūnīnī was not quick in responding, he hit him on the head and stunned him. This happened on the first of Ramaḍān, and he died from the blow on the 10th of the same month, 701 A.H. Durar al-Kamina, vol. ii, No. 221, of my edition in the Press; this biography is missing in the British Museum and Cairo MSS., through one quire having been torn out. The latter work mentions sons, grandsons and cousins of this Yunīnī, which do not concern us here.

F. Krenkow.

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The Arabic Commentary of 'Ali ben Suleimān the Karaite on the Book of Genesis. Edited from unique MSS. and provided with critical notes and an Introduction by Solomon L. Skoss, M.A., Ph.D. (Philadelphia). pp. viii + 211. 1928.

Jewish-Arabic commentaries on biblical books have, apart from any sectarian tendency, not only a literary, but also a linguistic importance. Their authors wrote in a language so nearly akin to Hebrew that it was for them another dialect, and were thus enabled to get a deeper insight into the real meaning of words than is gained in many instances from the ordinary dictionary. The author of the above-mentioned commentary wrote at the beginning of the twelfth century, and is therefore not one of the early writers on this branch of literature. In his introduction Dr. Skoss gives

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a very elaborate survey of Jewish-Arabic writings notwithstanding the large amount of books and articles existing on the subject. He deals with the person of the author, his predecessors, his method of exegesis, and linguistic peculiarities. It is strange that the author of the Commentary still adheres to the old theory of biliteral roots although he was obviously acquainted with Ḥayyūj's reform, in consequence of which he can hardly be taken seriously as grammarian. In one respect, however, Dr. Skoss does him some injustice in charging him "with apparent disregard of the most elementary rules of grammar". This accusation would apply with equal force to nearly all Jewish-Arabic writers. The "errors" which he finds in the author's spelling by no means deserve this name, but are the characteristics of much earlier writers, and were dictated by the use of the Hebrew alphabet as well as of ordinary hebraisms. In general it is not correct to speak of the *Sprachgebrauch* of this or that author, because these "errors" are common to all from Sā'adyāh to Maimūni. They are not even confined to Jewish authors, as Dr. Skoss could have gathered from the late August Müller's essay on *the Text und Sprachgebrauch of Ibn Abi Useibia's History of Physicians* as well as from the late Dr. Vollers' remarks on the early neglect of the *I'rāb* traces of which are even found in the Qorān. There is further to be compared Dr. v. Mžik's very recent publication of the *ṣūrat al arḍ* by Al Khowārizmi (ninth century), whose spelling betrays similar phenomena. That the author does not lack originality as exegete is shown in his comment on Gen. i, 1, but on the use of אה he has been forestalled by Qu'irqisāni, who is not mentioned either by the author or by the editor. In many places the author follows Sa'adyāh's version without mentioning his name, although he must have been acquainted with his translations and commentaries. Karaite writers only quoted his works when combating his religious views; otherwise they ignored him and took pains to destroy his works.

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Dr. Skoss treats his subject with laudable thoroughness, and perhaps more broadly than necessary, garnering his arguments even from classical Arabic poets. He would have deserved still greater appreciation had he added occasional vowel signs and diacritical points to the Arabic text in order to help students less versed in reading Arabic in Hebrew characters. At any rate he did not fall into the error of others who thought it expedient to present such text in Arabic writing which alters the complexion of such texts considerably. There can be no doubt that the work was originally written in Hebrew characters, but the specimen in Arabic writing given in the earlier part of the book is clearly from a copy in transcription. Karaites indulged in this spiteful policy to exclude Rabbanite readers. The book is the product of sound scholarship and a welcome addition to the literature extant on the subject.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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MATERIALS FOR HEBREW COMPOSITION. By M. A. CANNEY, M.A. Second edition. pp. 88. Manchester University Press, 1929.

The fact that a second edition of this book has been published is sufficient evidence of its usefulness. The author was well advised in not simply taking his material from the English version of the Bible. By introducing suitable alterations, he not only prevents students from merely copying the paragraphs from the Hebrew originals, but also tests their acquaintance with the books of the Old Testament, as well as their proficiency in grammar. There is also one piece taken from a secular source. In a further edition this might be augmented. Why he translates אֶבֶן by *steel* is not quite clear; would not *plummet* be more suitable? Undergraduates will find the little book helpful and stimulating.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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THE COMPOSITION OF JUDGES ii, 11, TO 1 KINGS ii, 46. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 4to, pp. 39. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929.

In setting himself the task of bringing order into the incoherent and rather scrappy narratives contained in the above-mentioned sections, the author struck out quite new lines. In contradistinction to earlier critics he distinguishes two main sources: first the Book of Judges to the death of David, which he ascribes to the Prophet Nathan, designated by *N*. He was a partisan, and at the same time a stern judge of David's actions, and chiefly responsible for Judges ii to 1 Kings ii. The other was the Prophet Gad (*G*.), who compiled the records from 1 Sam. xvii to 2 Sam. xxiv. He was the predecessor of *N*., an older contemporary of David's, and hostile to the claims of the house of Saul. The author stresses the point that *G*. is but a symbol for a work in which Gad is mentioned as a historical person, but he allows no suggestions as to his authorship. No serious objection can be made to the opinion of the author that the problem of the Book of Samuel is too complicated to be solved by the supposition that only two hands were busy in compiling the narratives. As an instance he offers the alleged parallelism of 2 Sam. iv, 4, to ix, 1 sqq., which seems to be taken from a different source. In his analysis of 1 Sam. vii, 3, to xiv, 52, Mr. Wiener comes to the conclusion that ch. ix, 8, is an integral part of the narrative. On the whole his remarks on this and other points demand attentive reading with constant reference to the original text. The question remains, however, whether נְצִיב is in every instance to be translated by *prefect*. For in 1 Sam. x, 5, this word must have the same meaning as in 1 Chron. xi, 16, both places evidently speaking of Philistines' outposts. Several of these, notably those mentioned in xiii, 3, seem to have been pushed right into the territory of the Israelites, as the latter were disarmed and had even to rely on Philistine permission to procure their agricultural imple-

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ments. This has a true historical ring about it, as it goes against the spirit of an Israelite historiographer. Jonathan's success, related in xiv, 13, does not seem to have counted for much, since he had only had six hundred men with him. On the whole the situation is very obscure. The Philistine army seems to have been frightened by an earthquake (v, 15), which gave the Israelites some advantage. In xi, 5, the author suggests reading הַבִּיקֶר for הַבֹּקֶר, but *after the morning* is not only awkward Hebrew, but also destroys the idyllic situation round the old Hebrew Cinannatus, and this should remain undisturbed in spite of Kittel's different view. To place ch. xii between x, 25, *a* and *b*, is a somewhat violent operation, because this section may be a fuller account of xiv, 48. The "unhistorical" character of the two sections is not quite obvious. If Amalek was not annihilated it was an act of disobedience on the part of Saul, who had to bear the consequences. Why did not the author make this the starting point of *G.*? These chapters are teeming with difficulties, and very little can be said with any claim to certainty. One thing is clear that modern eyes are unable to obtain a correct vision of the conditions. In any case, the author betrays signal skill in showing how these various, and by no means homogeneous, records might be united into progressive history while allowing the fissures to be recognizable. He has given a strong impulse to study the material afresh, and credit is due to him for his clever guidance through the maze of disjointed facts.

H. Hirschfeld.

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The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 198 pages and 29 pictures, mostly on plates. At the University Press, Oxford.

Though of but limited extent, this modest book shows not only the interesting nature of the discoveries made of late years in the province of Iraq, but also the importance of the

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inhabitants of the Babylonian plain. Before the discovery of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, the name "Sumerian" was practically unknown. At the present time no history of the Euphrates valley can be written without giving them a large place therein.

In former years we used to speak of Sumer and Akkad, regarding the former as Southern Babylonia and the latter as the northern tract. This is undoubtedly right, but where we went wrong was in regarding the inhabitants of both tracts as non-Semitic. Jules Oppert always maintained that the Sumerians were non-Semitic, but at that time it was unproved that the Akkadians were Semites, as is now generally accepted. In Gen. x, 10, Akkad is referred to with Babel, Erech, and Calneh as though it were a city, hence the older point of view.[1] The country as a whole bears the name of Shin'ar, compared by some with Shumer. The Hebrew form still requires explanation.

The point of view in Mr. Woolley's book, however, shows that the whole Babylonian tract ought to be called Akkad, as the original inhabitants seem to have been Semites, whilst the Sumerians were the invaders or immigrants.

The descriptions of their primitive dwellings and mode of life are interesting and detailed, the statements being based on the remains discovered in the various ruins, among the first being the deductions from those at al-'Ubaid, near Ur. Here we learn about the reed huts with their hearths of clay, the barley-bread with its preparation and baking, the animals upon which they lived. The description of the boats in which they went (to catch fish) on the Euphrates, with their high prows of reeds attached together, is confirmed by engravings shown on the cylinder-seals and elsewhere. The men were clad in skins or home-spun garments, and the women wore their hair done up into a "bun" at the back of the head. The jewellery of the poorer classes was not

[1] With this the late George Bertin did not agree—see his paper, "The pre-Accadian (=pre-Sumerian) Semites" in the *JRAS.*, Vol. XVIII, Part 3.

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apparently of the precious metals, but consisted of studs made of clay, bitumen, carnelian, or other workable material. The book contains many other details of their lives, as well as their manners, customs, and beliefs.

The historical part has a very complete list of the earliest kings and heroes, including those before the flood, which the inhabitants of Babylonia regarded as an historical event. This would seem also to be confirmed by the excavations at Kish and Ur. The excessively long reigns attributed to the kings before and immediately after the Flood are naturally impossible. Future discoveries may reveal to us how these long reigns are to be understood and explained, but we must not be too hopeful—they are possibly due to manipulations of the *sos*, *ner*, and *šar*, the great sexagesimal units, 60, 600, and 3,600.

But to go in detail through the many discoveries concerning the Sumerians recorded in this attractive monograph would take up too much space, and we must limit our notes so as to keep the notice within bounds. Exceedingly interesting are the plates, and among them may be mentioned the restored portrait of Queen Shub-ad, with its elaborate head-dress (there is an excellent reproduction of this in colours in the *Illustrated London News* for August 11, 1928). Her date is set down as being about 3,000 years before Christ. Plate 5, the cattle byre with temple-servants milking the cows and straining the milk, a mosaic in limestone and shale, from al-'Ubaid, is now well known, as is also the restoration of Queen Shub-ad's harp. From a mythological point of view Plate 11 is, perhaps, the most interesting. It is a shell plaque engraved in four superimposed divisions, the first showing a bearded man between two rearing bulls; the second, animals, erect, bearing offerings; the third, other animals, also erect, playing instruments, one of which is a harp; and an ibex following a scorpion-man bearing, possibly, drink-offerings. This object was found at Ur, and it is suggested that it may have formed part of a harp.

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A fine specimen of Sumerian art, also, is the "mosaic standard" at Ur. One side only of this is given, showing the Sumerian army on the march, and in its train we see four-wheeled chariots, each drawn, apparently, by asses.[1]

With the statuette of a Sumerian ruler of the earlier part of the third millennium B.C. may be compared that of Ur-Ningirsu, son of Gudea, *patesi* of Lagash. Other royal objects of interest artistically are the cylinder-seals on Plate 20. The first (unfortunately printed upside-down) shows fighting lions and men symmetrically arranged in a style often met with. It is of the sacred stone, lapis lazuli, and belonged to the Queen of Mes-anni-padda, founder of the first dynasty of Ur. The cylinder of Queen Shub-ad is less beautiful, as it shows, in two bands, two seated and several standing figures engaged, apparently, in religious ceremonies. The third cylinder-seal is in similar style to the first, but has only one row of figures, the animals crossing each other and the lions attacking bulls being very symmetrically arranged. It is described as a "Cylinder seal of a servant of the daughter of King Sargon of Akkad." This daughter, En-khi-du-anna, like the daughter of Nabonidus, was priestess of the moon-goddess Nin-gal at Ur.

*The Sumerians* is a book well suited to the general reader, for whom it was written, but the specialist may also gain useful points from it. Not only are their history and antiquities treated of, but also their literatures and their legends. A fuller Index would have improved it. Special mention must be made of the work of Mrs. Woolley, Mr. F. G. Newton, and Mr. A. S. Whitburn, A.R.I.B.A., who have furnished restorations.

T. G. PINCHES.

[1] For the whole design, see the *Illustrated London News* for 23rd June, 1928.

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I. Beitraege zur Kartographie Albaniens nach orientalischen Quellen. von Hans v. Mžik.

II. Zur Geschichte der okzidentalen Kartographie Nordalbaniens von Baron Franz Nopcsa. With 7 plates and 39 illustrations in text. (Tom. iii. Editio separata ex Geologica Hungarica. Series Geologica.) $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Budapest, 1929.

As Dr. Mžik observes, the Adriatic was but little known to Orientals during the first eight centuries of Islam, though already in the ninth century A.D. Saracen pirates had a nest in a Roman-Byzantine castle near Medua. It was not, however, till 1365 that a treaty between the Ragusan republic and the Turks, followed by an invitation, in 1385, from an expelled Duke of Durazzo, brought the Turks into Albania. Apart from the Arabic-Ptolemaic geographers (cf. A. R. Guest's article in *JRAS*. 1913, p. 305), the Islamic writers only begin to deal with the matter in the fifteenth century. The first 24 pages of the book before us are chiefly devoted to the identification of place-names.

The second part is double as long as the first and has appended to it a bibliographical list with 168 entries, which has a melancholy interest, for Baron Nopcsa tells us that after making a preliminary study, the results of which were published in 1916, his collection of over 200 maps of northern Albania was stolen in 1920. The oldest map is the Vienna Tabula Peutingeriana, the names in which have puzzled geographers from the sixteenth century, but are now intelligible.

The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a subject in which the British names most prominent are: Durham, Evans, Faden, and Guest. The plates are clear and well reproduced.

O. W.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1929)

## GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

*22nd April*

### Central Asia

At a joint meeting of the Society with the Central Asian Society, at the rooms of the Royal Society of Arts, the Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair, Dr. W. Filchner read a paper, illustrated by a film, on his explorations in Centra Asia entitled

"My Central Asian Expedition, 1925–8".

The following is an abstract of the lecture.

He said that although his main task was strictly scientific, it did not exhaust the aims of his undertaking. He hoped during his long sojourn in the heart of Asia to make other observations such as the history of civilization and ethnological matters.

The first stage of the journey, begun at the close of 1925, led via Leningrad and Moscow to Taschkent. His astronomic magnetic task was the connecting up of the European Western-Asiatic system with the Chinese system which had been created by the Carnegie Institute. It was proposed to lay down a continuous chain of survey stations along the line Taschkent or Kuldscha–Sining-fu to Kansu, the North-Western province of China proper. The distance between each station was not to exceed 50 to 60 kilometres. Spending the first winter in the neighbourhood of Sining-fu, he was to transfer the earth-magnetic work in the following spring to Tibet, with the idea of joining up the Chinese survey system with that of India. In spite of obstacles he was able to accomplish this task along the line Sining-fu on the East Tsaidam-Tangla-Nga-tschu-ka (north of Lhassa) thence in the direction of Leh in Kashmir, via Tschang-ling-korr-



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Se-li-pu across the lake district. He was able to accomplish this scientific task, which was of particular importance in cartography, according to plan, and finally carried out the linking-up survey at Dehra Dun.

Altitudes were determined exclusively by means of a boiling thermometer (Siedethermometer) and theodolites and mainly at the astronomically fixed magnetic stations, the number of which exceeds 160. The whole length of the route covered in Tibet was determined by mapping out with the aid of a fluid compass. These points would be plotted in the gaps between the astronomically fixed points when working out the whole of the data.

The expedition, which finished in June, 1928, was hindered at the outset by the disturbed political condition of China. He found himself in the midst of civil war and his way led from one opposing camp to the other. Original distrust was soon displaced, however, by friendly assistance. Unfortunately the many privations and suffering from hunger and frost he was called upon to bear resulted in his falling seriously ill with gallstones just before the winter of 1926–7. Yet he was able to carry out his daily surveys, sometimes of twelve hours' duration, without a break. He was fortunate to find a real friend and helper in a highly educated Chinese salt mandarin, named Lu, who saved him from death by his devoted nursing, and he was given material assistance by missionaries and officials.

The journey across the Tibet plateau was delayed and obstructed by the well-known enmity of the Tibetan towards all foreigners. Every now and then, owing to superstitition, he was forbidden to use his instruments. As all persuasive efforts failed, he was driven to cunning. The people were told he was to rest, but in reality he was working hard in his tent, making the necessary calculations through a hole in the canvas, thus completing the unbroken chain of observations. While his companions were resting at the stopping places he often had to work the whole night through. The astronomical

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magnetic observations had to be carried out, diaries had to be written up, surveys checked, and dispositions for the next march day had to be made. During this time his feet were frozen and a few ribs, the right hand, and right foot were broken.

In view of the increasing insecurity on Tibetan territory, letters to the Viceroy of India and the Dalai Lama were smuggled through. It seemed not improbable that the expedition would be pushed up North without completing its task, even if nothing worse happened. Then one day a special messenger from the Dalai Lama brought instructions that he and his two white companions, an Australian and an American, should be given freedom to pass across Tibet in a westerly direction to Leh in Kashmir, and that they were to be treated in a proper manner. His Holiness sent them by a Tibetan dignitary a very welcome gift of foodstuffs, of which they were badly in need. From that time forward they enjoyed not only the best treatment, but were also supplied with provisions by the naturally hospitable Tibetans. The change came at a critical stage when his physical and mental powers were almost exhausted and his financial condition most deplorable.

The lecturer next gave an outline of the family life of the Tibetans, their dwellings and animals, and an account of their cloisters. He pointed out that in Eastern Tibet monogamy is practised as the sexes are approximately equal in number; but in Central and Southern Tibet where the number of women is considerably less, polyandry is usual. The several husbands of a woman must always be brothers. The children of the marriage belong to the eldest brother who is called "father" by the children, while the other husbands are called "uncle". Petticoat government obtained to a large extent in Tibet. The women were usually quite shy, but distinctly determined in dealings with their husbands.

In describing the fauna of the country Dr. Filchner paid most attention to the yak or "grunting" ox. He found the

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yak very hardy and easily satisfied. After unloading, the beast is allowed to run loose to find his own food, and the catching of a yak for resuming the journey is a great art. The animal can carry approximately a hundredweight. At the beginning the expedition possessed thirty-five of them, but most of the caravan was lost by robbery and shortage in the mountainous districts between Kuku-nur and Tsai-dam. After being miraculously saved by a camel troop he was forced with his slender remaining resources to get together another yak caravan. "Pinching" was considered an honourable sport in Tibet, especially in the North-East. The Tibetan was not ashamed of his brigandage, but rather the victim was ashamed of not being able to prevent the robbery.

Tibet was described as a land of cloisters and religious orders, not only for men but also for women. Every year hundreds of thousands of pilgrims streamed from all parts of Asia to famous Tibetan cloisters such as Sera, Potala, and Dapung. The pilgrims were usually lodged in a caravan-serai in the outskirts of the cloister. The Lamas were divided into three classes—the Schabis or pupils, the Gethsul, and the Geslong who were the ordained priests. They were under vows of chastity, might not drink alcohol nor kill any animal. Each monk had his own house of at least two rooms in the cloister, and the richer monks possessed larger houses with courtyards, servants' quarters, stabling, etc. The monks carried no sword, but carried a dagger under their robes. On a journey, however, they wore lay clothing and carried weapons with them.

Describing the greatest festival at Kumbum known as the Butter-feast, Dr. Filchner said that its object was a polite invitation to the gods to listen to the recital of the holy scripture in the tents. Two enormous platforms of masts and precious carpets were erected in the cloister compound. Under these platforms wonderfully formed and beautifully painted images and symbols made of butter were displayed, and in the middle a sea of light from butter lamps. Bands

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of music consisting of flutes, trumpets, symbols, and drums continually played in the same rhythm. The spectators, crowded perilously together, sacrifice in awe to these butter gods. The Lama police prepared a way through the crowd for saints or distinguished visitors by means of whips.

One of the lantern slides showed the monks of Kumbum assembled for prayer. The custom is to recite in loud tones amidst ejaculations and hand-clapping. A Lama of high rank, Tschora-tschungo, who superintended the other Lamas, circled round the praying monks relentlessly punishing the inattentive or other offenders. A Geslong led the prayer in a deep bass voice, the others chanting melodiously. Tea and dried fruit were served in the intervals. Dr. Filchner said that he spent the terrible winter of 1926–7 almost starved and frozen in this cloister, and the Lamas counted him more or less one of themselves.

At the end of each year the far-famed dances take place at Kumbum. Their significance, Dr. Filchner said, could be compared with the miracle plays of the Middle Ages. A full knowledge of lamaistic mythology was necessary to understand their symbolism. In these dances Atzaras, fantastic beings who were supposed to meet the souls of the dead in purgatory, were to be seen. The object of the dances was to guide the thoughts of the spectators to the impermanency of things, to remind them how quickly time flies, and how suddenly death may overtake even the youngest. All the figures were represented by Lamas. The masks were artistic to the last degree and richly painted. The robes also were costly and extraordinarily tasteful. The dances are carried out to the accompaniment of a Lama orchestra.

In a concluding passage Dr. Filchner said that like all other strangers travelling in this wild mountainous country, cut off from the world, he stood under suspicion of being accompanied by the devil. Bears, wolves, and robbers were always threatening his unarmed expedition. The correct

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treatment of the people, these children of nature, enabled their humanity to gain the upper hand. Primitive folk would sympathize with him and even respect him when they realized that he exposed himself willingly to the bitterest poverty and tremendous exertions in the interests of his task. One of the most valuable lessons learnt on such a tour over half the earth seemed to him to be the ability to think in continents and to see things in their true perspective, and the realization that mutual knowledge and understanding of the nations can only result in a nearer approach to each other of the peoples of the earth.

Sir Francis Younghusband, in thanking Dr. Filchner for his lecture and film, said he could not praise too highly the courage and endurance which had enabled him to carry out and complete his scientific programme. Sir Francis said he had had some experience of the Tibetan climate and the terrible Tibetan winds, but to go through three winters short of food, ill, and with broken ribs and with little money and to persevere undauntedly spoke of a magnificent strength of body and mind on which he congratulated the lecturer. Turning to the film, he said that in spite of their superstitions, the Tibetans in all they did showed a very real religious sense, they referred their actions to something beyond their material advantage. The dances which had been shown on the film could well be compared to the mystery plays of the Middle Ages.

The Chairman (Lord Zetland) congratulated the two Societies on having had this opportunity of seeing Dr. Filchner's remarkable film and of hearing from him something of his expedition. Sir Francis Younghusband had spoken of the courage which the lecturer had shown in carrying through his scientific programme; perhaps only those who had travelled in Central Asia and had experienced not only the climate and the hardships of travel, but the continual suspicion of the people, could appreciate it at its

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true value. He congratulated the lecturer very heartily on his remarkable journey and was glad to say his safe arrival was in part due to an Australian, Mr. Mathewson, and to the help given him by the Government of India. He would like also to congratulate Dr. Filchner on his courage in lecturing so successfully in a foreign language, and hoped the two Societies might have an opportunity of hearing him at some later date.

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*30th April*

## Expeditions to the Alai-Pamirs

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Francis Aglen in the chair, Mr. W. Rickmer Rickmers gave a detailed description of the expeditions he undertook to the Alai-Pamirs in 1913 and 1928. The following is an abstract :—

### "Travels in the Alai-Pamirs"

Mr. Rickmer Rickmers defined the term Alai-Pamirs as covering the mountainous regions between the Amu Darya, the Sir Darya and the Chinese border, and as therefore applying to the Pamir block and its westerly fringes. In the terms of political frontiers the region might be spoken of as the Russian Pamirs. He pointed out that besides having acquired a definite morphological meaning (a pamir—a valley of the Pamir type) the term had become very elastic in a topographical sense. There were divisions of the region just as there were divisions of London and the phrase "the Londons" would therefore correspond to "the Pamirs".

He said that the two expeditions which formed the subject of the lecture were separated by fifteen years, but were connected by the same fundamental idea, namely the exact survey of certain mountains. During the interval very little happened in a region which he had in heart reserved for

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himself. In 1913, when he led the expedition of the German and Austrian Alpine Association, the late Dr. Deimler made a photogrammetric survey of Karateghin and more especially of the range of Peter the Great. After his early death, Dr. von Gruber prepared two maps from the negatives, one showing the Borolmas and the Kizil-su glaciers in great detail; the other being a ridge map of Karateghin showing the lower valleys. In 1928, Dr. R. Finsterwalder surveyed about 4,000 square miles of mountains and glaciers between the Sel-tau, Transalai and Zulum-art ranges and the Tanimas river. Notwithstanding the gulf of time the expedition of 1928 was the immediate continuation of that of 1913, for both together were the first attempt to produce a complete and satisfactory map of considerable mountain areas in the Alai-Pamirs.

The first expedition lasted from 2nd May to 13th December, 1913, and cost £1,350. To the itinerary which he gave he said there must be added a great number of side excursions, glacier explorations, and mountain climbs. The party ascended about thirty peaks, the highest being 5,700 metres. It was as yet too early for linking the stages of glaciation with those of the Alps. The formations seemed to point to some comparatively sudden change in which the shortness of the glaciers might have acted as a contributory cause. Altogether the Alai-Pamirs formed a glaciological laboratory, which owing to its accessibility facilitated and, owing to climatic contrasts, deserved continuous, systematic observation. As an island surrounded by deserts this mountain range formed a splendid object of comparison with the Alps.

He cherished the fond belief that the solution of the riddle of the dead cities of Chinese Turkistan was to be sought along the Pamir glaciers. Nothing seemed to warrant the assumption that the Tarim basin was a zone of rainfall cultivation in historical times. If the change of climate responsible for glacial periods also produced more rain in Central Asia, then it must have been before the advent of historic man, or, to be exact, before the immigration of peasants. The dead cities

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lived on agriculture by irrigation which drew its water from rivers partly fed by residual ice, by dead ice not replenished from precipitation above the snowline. This store of ice left over after the last glacial retreat, or cessation of surplus feeding, gradually dwindled. Rivers decreased in volume, and after a time were unable to fill the irrigation canals of outlying districts. If that theory was correct, the problem of the historic desiccation of Inner Asia would be changed from one of rainfall to one of residual melting. Thus we should be able to detach this narrower problem from the wider one of climatic change which loomed beyond. The stoppage of supplies from the atmosphere must have been more rapid than the melting of old snows. This would point to a comparatively sudden change of climate. But then everything was, or appeared to be, sudden in Central Asia, a country where every difference was magnified into glaring contrast.

The expedition was led by the secretary of the Beg of Yakabagh to the cave of Kalaishiran in the limestone canyon of the Kala-sai torrent. The two porticoes of the cave opened out on the right bank of the cliffs at a height of about 2,400 metres above the sea level. The familiarity of the guides with the locality, the remains of torches and broken stalactites showed that the place was used for pilgrimages or *tamashas*. Legend called it Tamerlane's horse-stable, which seemed justified by the thick layer of droppings. Digging a hole they came upon layers of broken bones, and in a cranny found a very old clay lamp. One of the caverns was neatly walled up with alternate layers of blocks and wooden beams. Earth filled in behind made a wide platform. They went in about 500 yards through halls alternating with narrow passages. He refrained from excavations on a large scale for fear of spoiling the work of future experts. Kalai-shiran promised well, for its human record must stretch unbroken far into the dim past, though it remained doubtful whether neolithic man ever roamed in this neighbourhood, but cave animals there might have been.

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The 1928 expedition, consisting of eleven Germans and eleven Russians, was not only very large, but was characterized by the close collaboration of two peoples. He thought that the latter feature had come to stay. Nations in whose territory there was something to investigate no longer cared to be what looked like the passive object of foreign scientists. They did not care to seem incapable of describing their own country; they did not see why their antiquities or ethnographical rarities should be the booty of museums abroad. No one wished to exclude helpful neighbours, but everywhere self-esteem had begun to formulate this condition: "No foreign exploration by others without our own active share as homeland explorers." Further, the modern exploring party showed the inevitable evolution from the journey of discovery to the journey of study or committee of investigation. To-day the world was discovered—that was to say known everywhere in outline. The finder was being replaced by the examiner, the prospector by the sinker of shafts, the eye by the instrument, the story-teller by the measurer and statisician. All human activity moved from extensive to intensive cultivation or organization. The nomad became a peasant, the peasant a gardener. But as movement could not be dissociated from life, nor travel from exploration, the new order of things had been brought about by a division of labour. Geographical exploration was split up into pure travel and pure study.

He drew attention to these considerations, so that his hearers might understand why he had nothing sensational to report. There simply had to be no adventures if the task of the expedition was to be done thoroughly, and in time. Formerly discoverers went out in search of adventure, for they opened up new ways through oceans and continents, and an unknown road always meant adventure. Now adventure had been driven from the high roads to the lanes and by-paths. Instead of the sensational fight with unexpected obstacles there was now the noiseless war with

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detail, with equipment, tactics and accounts. He noted that the 1928 expedition was camouflaged during its inception as the Alai Expedition. They did not like to mention the Pamirs, fearing to arouse suspicion, for the Pamirs "are like three mighty hands clasped in a grip of steel, each holding on for dear life, yet hoping that the others might let go". Schemers of dark plots would not have taken a dozen foreigners into their confidence, least of all map-makers. All the same the Governor of Kashgar concentrated troops on the border, and many Kirghiz fled into Chinese territory when they heard of the coming of the explorers.

The lecturer thought that the secrecy surrounding certain easy Passes showing traces of constant use could only be explained by the wish of the Tajiks (Galchas) to hide them from the Kirghiz, so that they could be used for flight or for fetching reinforcements. The old Aryan population of Darvaz sat astride the boundary ranges so that on the northern slopes of the mountains of Peter the Great (Karateghin) and on the eastern slopes of the Sel-tau the Tajik were dovetailed into the Kirghiz. This zone of contact meant a state of silent war between the races, each trying to extend its pastures or fields. It was not a war between two nations as a whole, but a state of economic pressure giving rise to small local adjustments where families grew or dwindled. Here and there one found groups of stone hovels representing relinquished outposts of the Galchas driven back by the Kirghiz. It was not easy to see where the nomads had retreated, as they left no permanent buildings behind. Real battles on a large scale did not seem to take place, at least not since the Russian conquest of Turkestan. Curiously enough, the two even mixed quite readily in some localities.

The highest passes across the central Sel-tau were abandoned long ago. Being fairly easy for hardy mountaineers, although very long and strenuous, they had not been closed by the forces of nature, but had become obsolete for historical reasons. When the Russians went into the country, they did

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away with small boundaries, welding tribes and minor states into one whole of law and order. Short cuts or loopholes for fugitives, spies and smugglers became unnecessary. He believed, however, that the Tajiks still used them in a small way, and that their memory for the passes was kept bright for future emergencies. Some of the finds of the expedition went to show that the upper Tanimas Valley had never been quite deserted. Besides hunters and shepherds, prospectors for gold were to be counted among its regular visitors. Indeed, the presence of the expedition might have been responsible for its look of utter desolation, a sort of camouflage by abstention.

An outline of the geographical, geological, botanical, and zoological results of the expedition was followed by a reference to efforts to penetrate to the mysteries of the Pamir dialects spoken by the various tribes. The languages belong to the East Iranian branch. He held that it was high time that science took stock of them, for they were in danger of being swamped by New Persian, Russian, or some nondescript caravan language. The political and economic opening up of the high valleys was making great strides, so that original traits of national life and character would soon be blurred. Dr. Lentz, the linguistic expert of the party, was surprised by the wealth of oral literature in verse and prose which he found in the miserable village of Bartang. He had brought home a great collection of texts, together with phonographic and musical records, and his scientific report would show a great step forward in our knowledge of an ancient people. Among the more conspicuous objects of Tajik handicraft were the woollen stockings and the ceremonial veils or chash bands. The many-hued stockings on which the svastica often recurred reminded one of Fair Isle work. The women went unveiled, but wore a beautifully embroidered face-curtain for the marriage ceremony. The outstanding ornamental symbol was that of the red cock. Some of these chash bands were hundreds of years old.

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## *ANNIVERSARY MEETING*

### *14th May*, 1929

Professor Margoliouth presided in the unavoidable absence of the President, the Marquess of Zetland.

The following were elected Members of the Society :—

Miss Elsie Benkard.
Miss Wanden Mathews.
Mr. T. A. Kanakasabapathy Pillai.
Rao Sahib C. Y. Doraswami Pillai.
Mr. Hem Chandra Roy.
Mr. T. E. Veeraraghava Sarma.
Mr. Bal Kishan Batra.
Babu Shiva Charan Lal Jain.
Mr. F. H. Beswick.
Mr. Kishore Chand Joshi.
Mr. Asa Ram Kanshic.
Mr. Gopi Krishna.
Dr. S. Mangapatti Naidoo Aswini Kumar.
Rai Sahib Asharfi Lal.
Mr. Har Kishen Lal Manucha.
Mr. Amar Nath Pargal.
Mr. Parashu Ram.
Mr. P. K. Ramaswami.
Mr. T. S. Venunadhan.
Mr. C. V. Vijayapaliah.

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

### Report of the Council for 1928–9

The Society has lost by death the following members :—

The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali.
Mrs. Beveridge.
Mr. W. Coldstream.
The Rev. Canon Gairdner.
Mr. Kanhaiya Lal Guru.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
H.H. the Maharaja of Jhalawar.
Dr. Phanibhusan Mukerji.
Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O.
Prof. J. Samaddar.
Mrs. D. B. Spooner.
Mr. Moung Tsain.
Dr. T. H. Weir.

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. H. J. Cant.
Mr. O. K. Caroe.
The Rev. E. Donaldson.
Mr. H. J. Frampton.
Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.
Mr. J. Drummond Hogg.
Mr. W. G. Johnson.
Mr. W. E. Jardine.
Mr. M. Singh Kunwar.
The Rev. J. Vernon Lewis.
Mr. R. V. Malliah.
Staff-Surgeon F. R. Mann.
Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji.
Babu Mamnatha Kumar Rai.
Mr. G. R. T. Ross.
Dr. R. Shamasastry.
Mr. W. F. Albright.

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Under Rule 25*d* the following have ceased to be members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Sharaf Ahmad.
Rev. E. Ahmad-Shah, Lahore.
Mr. Syed Muhammad B. Alavi.
Mr. Upendra Mohan Basu.
Mr. Ram Behari.
Mr. Aboul Maali Syed Md. H. Bokhari.
Mr. Nalin Mohani Chatterji.
Mr. D. N. Ray Chaudhury.
Mr. Gokulnath Dhar.
Mr. S. K. Ghosh.
Mr. Mam Chand Gupta.
Mr. M. L. Sen Gupta.
Mr. Seth Sohan Gupta.
Mr. Dwijes Chandra Gupta.
Mr. Saras Ram Gupta.
Mr. A. K. Gurtu.
Rev. E. N. Harris.
Rev. J. P. Hodgkinson.
Mr. Shams ul-'Ulama Hosain.
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosein.
Mr. Md. Siraj-ul Islam.
Mr. Sukhbir Pershad Jain.
Mr. Ram Chandra Kak.
Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar.
Mr. Afaque Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Nathu Lal.
Prof. H. W. B. Moreno.
Mr. B. U. N. Mozumdar.
Mr. Braj Lal Mukherjee.
Mr. H. B. Nanda.
Mr. Mian Sultan Nizami.
Mr. M. D. Raghavan.
Mr. M. Rashid.
Mr. Parimal Chandra Sen.
Mr. Madan Mohan Seth.
Mr. Mohammad Sharifuddin.
Mr. Vinod Chandra Sharma.
Mr. A. N. Singh.
Mr. George H. Singh.
Mr. Inder Singh.
Mr. M. Lal Talib.

The following eight Resident Members have been elected :—

Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.
Mr. A. Z. Alsagoff.
Miss Edith Clements.
The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Glyn.
Mr. Gerard Heym.
Mr. S. C. Nandimath.
Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
Mrs. G. Swinton.

The following 103 Non-resident members have also been elected :—

Mr. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah.
Mr. Chaudhri Nahi Ahmad.
Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar.
Mr. Md. Hazur Alam.
Mr. Mulk Raj Anand.
Mr. Md. Anwar-ul-Hakk.
Mr. Munir Agha Ashhar.
Mr. H. W. Bailey.
Mr. V. S. Bakhle.
Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji.

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Mr. Sita Ram Batra.
Mr. Raghunath Madhav Bhagade.
Mr. Mula Ram Bhatia.
Syed Abdul Wahab Bokari.
Major C. A. Boyle, D.S.O.
Mr. Paul R. Carr.
Mr. Harish Chandra.
Mr. Charanjiva.
Mr. D. L. Chetty.
Mr. Himanshu Ch. Chaudhuri.
Dr. S. K. Chowdhury.
Dr. Ishvara Datta.
Mr. Rames Chandra Dhar.
Mr. Myles Dillon.
Mr. Bibhuty Bhusan Dutt.
Prof. Abid Hasan Faridi.
Maulvi Feroz-ud-din.
Mr. Henry Field.
Mr. Radha Krishna Goel.
Mr. Mohamed Mahmud Gomaa.
Mr. M. Sahibuddin Haki, Khan Sahib.
Mr. N. M. Hashmi.
The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.
Mr. G. R. Hunter.
Mr. Mohomed Ishaque.
Mr. M. H. Ismail.
Mr. K. A. Narayana Iyer.
Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar.
Mr. M. H. S. Jalal-ud-din Ahmad Jafri.
Mr. Amrit Lal Jain.
Pandit Bhushan Joshi.
Miss Srimati Kamalabai.
Mr. Ganda Singh Kewal.
Mr. Abdur Rahman Khaki.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Diwan Harivamsh Lal Khanna.
Mr. Md. L. Koraishy.
Mr. P. D. Kora.
Mr. P. A. Krisnaswamy.
Mr. Shamsunder Lal.
Mr. J. N. Mathur.
Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur.
Mr. Eduard Khin Maung.
Professor Antoine Meillet.
Mr. Shosen Miyamoto.
Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamad.
Mr. G. Singh Mongia.
Mr. M. L. Motial.
The Rev. Cecil J. Mullo-Weir.
The Rev. J. P. Naish.
Sheikh Wali Md. Naiyar.
Mr. Jagat Narain.
Miss Lachhi Bai Jagumal Narsian.
Miss Sita Bai Jagumal Narsian.
Mr. Peter Scott Noble.
Mrs. G. Pavitran.
Mr. T. S. Dandeesvaram Pillai.
Mr. Paras Mani Lakshmi Pradhan.
Dr. Jwala Prasad.
Mr. Pande Jadunandam.
Mr. Md. Ibadur Rahman Khan.
Mr. W. S. de G. Rankin.
Mr. Ch. L. Narasimha Rao.
Mr. M. Sankam Rao.
The Rev. J. N. Rawson.
Mr. Hem Ch. Ray.
Mr. S. Babu Reddy.
Prof. Syed M. D. Riaz-ul-Hassan.
Prof. Edward Robertson.
Mr. M. H. Khan Muhamad Rowther.
Rai Sahib Dharam Rozdon.

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Mrs. G. Sankunny.
Dr. George Sarton.
Mr. Nagendra Nath Sharma.
Mr. Raghunath Sahaya Sharma, M.A.
Mr. K. V. Radhakrishna Shastri.
Prof. Abdul Majid Sheikh.
Prof. D. C. Simpson.
Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.
Devaki Nandan Prasad Singh, Raja of Monghyr.
Mr. T. Ram Chander Singh.
Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu.
Mrs. W. S. Strong.
Mr. Md. Siraj-ud-din Talib.
Mr. Mulla Ramoozi Tauheedi.
Mr. S. Bertram Thomas.
Mr. Thakur Tomara.
Mr. Ram Shankar Tripathi.
Prof. Guiseppe Tucci.
Mr. Hari Pal Varshni.
Prof. Hutton Webster.
Herr Otto G. von Wesendonk.
Mr. S. W. Yamini.

And three Non-resident Compounders :

Mr. Andrew Fleming, Mr. V. N. Sardesai, and Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji, Raja of Kalsia.

The *Journal* has continued to increase in size and interest and the membership has brought in £67 more than last year. Several new libraries have been added to the List, though many of the old ones have dropped off.

In publication the Society has been very active.

The Oriental Translation Fund brought out in 1928 the important work on the Principles of Shi'ite Philosophy, the *Al babu'L'Hâdî 'Ashar* of Ibnu'l Mutakhar al-Hillî, translated by the Rev. W. M. Miller, and also accepted and has already published the Zoological portion of the *Nuzhût'ul Qulub*, edited, translated, and annotated by Colonel J. Stephenson.

The Prize Publication Fund produced Mr. Malalasekara's *Pali Literature of Ceylon* and by the generous aid of the High Commissioner for India the Council has been enabled to undertake to publish a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the languages of the North-West frontier of India, in *Torwali* by Sir George Grierson.

The Asiatic Monograph Fund has just published Dr. Pran Nath's *Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India.*

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The Forlong Fund brought out during the year the new edition of Trenckner's *Milindapañho*, which publication as was mentioned last year has received pecuniary assistance from the Pali Text Society.

The Fund has in the Press at the present time, three other works, *Falaki Shirwānī*, by Professor Hadi Hasan, *Elements of Japanese Writing*, by Commander Isemonger, and *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, by Professor Siddheshwar Varma.

The Triennial Gold Medal was presented on 8th May, by Sir Edward Maclagan, the retiring President, to Professor Margoliouth in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental Research, and on the same day a luncheon was given in honour of Sir George Grierson to celebrate the completion of the Linguistic Survey of India. An account of both functions will be found in the *Journal* for July, 1928.

The Burton Memorial Lecture founded in memory of Sir Richard Burton was given by Mr. H. A. MacMichael on 20th July, the subject being "The Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan", and the Triennial Medal was afterwards presented to him by the President.

The Public School Gold Medal was won by Mr. A. J. Hobson, of Nottingham High School, for his essay on "Lord Cornwallis in India", and the presentation was made by the President on 12th February, 1929.

Lectures delivered during the year 1928–9 were :—

"Excavations at Ur, 1927–8," by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley.

"The Contribution of Hungary to Central Asian Studies, with special reference to Csoma de Körös," by Sir E. Denison Ross.

"Education in India," by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.

"Some Documents and Languages from Chinese Turkestan," by Professor F. W. Thomas.

"Some Notes on Early Muhammadan Titles," by Mr. Harold Bowen.



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# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SUBSCRIPTIONS— | | | | | | |
| Resident Members | 284 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| Non-Resident Members | 1,028 | 0 | 10 | | | |
| Student Members | 1 | 0 | 6 | | | |
| Non-Resident Compounders | 83 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 1,397 | 2 | 4 |
| RENTS RECEIVED | | | | 727 | 10 | 0 |
| GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES— | | | | | | |
| Government of India | 315 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " Hong-Kong | 25 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " Straits Settlements | 20 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " Federated Malay States | 40 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| SUNDRY DONATIONS | | | | 24 | 5 | 0 |
| GRANT FOR LIBRARY FROM CARNEGIE TRUST | | | | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT— | | | | | | |
| Subscriptions | 442 | 3 | 3 | | | |
| Additional Copies sold | 141 | 19 | 1 | | | |
| Pamphlets sold | 3 | 14 | 5 | | | |
| | | | | 587 | 16 | 9 |
| DIVIDENDS | | | | 74 | 10 | 2 |
| CENTENARY VOLUME SALES | | | | 3 | 14 | 0 |
| CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES | | | | | 10 | 0 |
| COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS | | | | 21 | 11 | 1 |
| SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS | | | | 4 | 11 | 9 |
| INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT | | | | 12 | 6 | 8 |
| BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1927— | | | | | | |
| Current Account | 244 | 9 | 2 | | | |
| Deposit Account | 200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 444 | 9 | 2 |
| | | | | £4,098 | 6 | 11 |

INVESTMENTS.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£1,426 1*s*. 10*d*. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£635 2*s*. 7*d*. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.
£132 16*s*. 3*d*. 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932–34.

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## PAYMENTS

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Account— | | | | | | |
| Rent and Land Tax | 503 | 17 | 4 | | | |
| Rates, less contributed by Tenants | 23 | 15 | 2 | | | |
| Gas and Light, do. | 86 | 15 | 1 | | | |
| Coal and Coke, do. | 43 | 1 | 5 | | | |
| Telephone | 16 | 9 | 9 | | | |
| Cleaning | 3 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| Insurance | 30 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Repairs | 16 | 17 | 8 | | | |
| Sundries | 41 | 14 | 9 | | | |
| | | | | 765 | 19 | 2 |
| Rebuilding Chimneys | 97 | 9 | 1 | | | |
| Painting House | 79 | 13 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 177 | 2 | 1 |
| Leasehold Redemption Fund | | | | 20 | 10 | 6 |
| Salaries and Wages | | | | 777 | 15 | 0 |
| Printing and Stationery | | | | 136 | 5 | 7 |
| Journal Account— | | | | | | |
| Printing | 1,039 | 17 | 0 | | | |
| Postage | 77 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 1,116 | 17 | 0 |
| Library Expenditure— | | | | | | |
| General | | | | 124 | 9 | 4 |
| Special Expenditure provided for by the Grant of £400 received from Carnegie Trust— | | | | | | |
| Cataloguing | 160 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Binding | 75 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Books | 65 | 19 | 0 | | | |
| Book Cases | 49 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | 115 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | *350 | 0 | 0 |
| General Postage | | | | 56 | 13 | 9 |
| Audit Fees | | | | 14 | 14 | 0 |
| Sundry Expenses— | | | | | | |
| Teas | 19 | 7 | 8 | | | |
| Parcels and Fares | 4 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| Lectures | 24 | 4 | 6 | | | |
| Diplomas | 6 | 17 | 0 | | | |
| Interest on overdraft | | 7 | 0 | | | |
| Library Carpet | 8 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| National Health and Unemployment Insurance | 15 | 7 | 0 | | | |
| Sundries | 16 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 95 | 6 | 6 |
| Balances in Hand, 31st December, 1928— | | | | | | |
| Deposit Account | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Current Account— | | | | | | |
| General | 112 | 14 | 0 | | | |
| Carnegie Fund | 50 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | 162 | 14 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 462 | 14 | 0 |
| | | | | £4,098 | 6 | 11 |

* Note: There was at 31st December, 1928, a liability for repairing MSS. of which £50 is payable out of the Carnegie Trust Grant.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

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# SPECIAL FUNDS

## Oriental Translation Fund

| Receipts | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | Payments | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1928. | | | 1928. | | |
| Jan. 1. Balance | | 358 4 6 | Printing and Binding Vol. XXIX | 69 8 5 | |
| Sales | | 169 1 9 | Reprinting Vol. XVI | 57 10 0 | |
| Interest on Deposit Account | | 8 15 3 | | | 126 18 5 |
| | | | Sundries | | 1 0 |
| | | | 10% Commission on 1927 Sales to General Account | | 12 10 7 |
| | | | Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary | | 396 11 6 |
| | | £536 1 6 | | | £536 1 6 |

## Asiatic Monograph Fund

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. Balance | | 126 9 5 | 10% Commission on 1927 Sales to General Account | 2 10 3 |
| Sales | | 21 1 9 | Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary | 145 0 11 |
| | | £147 11 2 | | £147 11 2 |

## *SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oriental Translation Fund | 396 11 6 | | Cash at Bank— | |
| Asiatic Monograph Fund | 145 0 11 | | On Current Account | *191 12 5* |
| | | | ,, Deposit Account | *350 0 0* |
| | £541 12 5 | | | £541 12 5 |

## Leasehold Redemption Fund

| | £ s. d | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1928. | | | 1928. | | |
| Jan 1. Balance | | 145 8 10 | Dec. 31. Balance— | | |
| Transfer from General | | | Represented by £192 19s. 3d | | |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | £541 12 5 | |
| | On Current Account | 191 12 5 | |
| | ,, Deposit Account | 350 0 0 | |
| | | £541 12 5 | |

### Leasehold Redemption Fund

| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1928. Jan. 1. | Balance | | 145 8 10 | 1928. Dec. 31. | Balance— | | |
| | Transfer from General Account | | 20 10 6 | | Represented by £162 10s. 3d. 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47 | 165 19 4 | |
| | Dividends Received to be Invested | | 8 2 6 | | Cash at Bank | 8 2 6 | |
| | | | | | | | 174 1 10 |
| | | | £174 1 10 | | | | £174 1 10 |

## TRUST FUNDS

### Prize Publication Fund

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 175 3 3 | | Printing and Binding Vol. X | 182 3 0 | |
| | Sales | 33 19 7 | | | Binding Vol. VII | 12 0 0 | |
| | Dividends | 18 0 0 | | | Printing Book Labels | 1 17 0 | |
| | | | 51 19 7 | | | | 196 0 0 |
| | | | | | 10 per cent on 1927 Sales to General Account | | 4 10 10 |
| | | | | Dec. 31. | Balance Carried to Summary | | 26 12 0 |
| | | | £227 2 10 | | | | £227 2 10 |

### Gold Medal Fund

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 61 11 5 | Dec. 31. | Gold Medal | 25 0 0 |
| | Dividends | | 9 15 0 | | Balance Carried to Summary | 46 6 5 |
| | | | £71 6 5 | | | £71 6 5 |

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## BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

| 1928. | Receipts | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 4 10 6 |
| | Dividends | | 1 9 4 |
| | | | £5 19 10 |

| 1928 | Payments | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Gold Medal | 2 12 6 | |
| | Report of Lecture | 1 18 6 | |
| | | | 4 11 0 |
| Dec. 31. | By Cash at Bank on Current Account | | 1 8 10 |
| | | | £5 19 10 |

Investment.
£49 0*s.* 10*d.* 3% Local Loans.

## JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | 53 0 9 |
| | Dividends | 210 1 10 |
| | Sale of Books | 29 3 1 |
| | Donation | 82 11 0 |
| | | £374 16 8 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Carriage of Volumes | 3 11 4 |
| | 10% on 1927 Sales to General Account | 1 19 5 |
| Dec. 31. | Cash at Bank— On Current Account | 369 5 11 |
| | | £374 16 8 |

Investments.

£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 5 per cent War Loan, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, *Auditor for the Council.*
RICHARD BURN, *Auditor for the Society.*

March, 1929.

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

| 1928. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|

| 1928. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|

Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, *Auditor for the Council.*
RICHARD BURN, *Auditor for the Society.*

*March*, 1929.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND

| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1928.* | | | |
| *Jan. 1.* | BALANCE | | 62 8 10 |
| | DIVIDENDS | | 20 15 4 |
| | | | £83 4 2 |

| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1928. | ADVERTISEMENTS | | 1 3 0 |
| Dec. 31. | BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY | | 82 1 2 |
| | | | £83 4 2 |

*SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND | 26 12 0 | |
| GOLD MEDAL FUND | 46 6 5 | |
| PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND | 82 1 2 | |
| | | 154 19 7 |
| | | £154 19 7 |

| | |
|---|---|
| CASH AT BANK— | |
| On Current Account | 154 19 7 |
| | £154 19 7 |

TRUST FUNDS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

*March*, 1929.

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"The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan," by Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchin.

"The Genius: A Study in Indo-European Psychology," by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

"The Highway of Europe and Asia," by Dr. J. G. Andersson (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Excavations at Nineveh, 1927–8," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson.

Much work in the Library has been done owing to the valuable help of the Carnegie Trustees. Over and above the Society's grant of £120 for buying books and binding, books to the value of £65 were bought during 1928 and binding amounting to £75 was carried out, besides a liability incurred of over £100 on repairing MSS. Fifty pounds was spent on buying two large bookcases, and the remainder of the £400 grant on preparing the Catalogue for publication.

The first letters of the Catalogue are ready for the printers, and good progress has been made in sorting and classifying the large collection of pamphlets in the Library.

The Central Asian Society, one of the Society's oldest tenants, finding they required larger premises, left us in March, and the Council have decided to take over the room thus vacated, for the Chinese Library, which since the move to Grosvenor Street has been very inadequately housed.

The Finance Report for 1928, shows an income of £3,653 7*s.* 9*d.*, and an expenditure of £3,635 12*s.* 11*d.*, the small balance being accounted for by two heavy expenses: one the triennial repainting of the outside of the house at a cost of £79 13*s.*, the other a very unexpected order from the London County Council to take down and rebuild the chimney stacks, which were out of the perpendicular to a dangerous extent, of which the cost, just £100, crippled the spending powers for the year. The Society's landlord, the Duke of Westminster, has since given a donation of £25 towards this expense.

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The other receipts and expenditure for the year were normal.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1929–30 are as follows:—

Under Rules 30 and 32, Mr. Hopkins and Professor Langdon retire from the office of Vice-President, and Dr. Blagden, Mr. Clauson, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Turner from the Council. Mr. Sidney Smith on his appointment as Director of the Iraq Museum resigned his seat on the Council. The Council recommend that Dr. Blagden and Dr. Gaster be elected Vice-Presidents and Sir William Foster, Dr. Hall, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham ordinary members of Council.

Under Rule 31 Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. Hopkins and Sir Richard Burn as Hon. Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Blagden, in proposing the adoption of the report, referred to some of the losses sustained by death, and notably those of Mrs. Beveridge, the Rev. Canon Gairdner and Mr. Ameer Ali, remarking that these names carried great weight among Orientalists. They had a certain number of resignations and also a certain number of removals from the roll under Rule 25d, which was a euphemistic way of saying that some members suffered from bad memories notwithstanding several reminders that subscriptions were due. They had satisfactory lists of new members, and on balance the year was one of substantial progress in membership. The *Journal* continued to show a satisfactory increase in size and he hoped they might say in interest. He was bound to admit that the interest was relative, owing to the necessarily large number of specialized contributions. A satisfactory feature was their activity in publications, for they brought out last year no less than

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six works, and even when they made allowance for the fact that one of them was no more than a photographic reprint, this was a very creditable performance. They also now had three new volumes in the press. He thought the Society might congratulate itself on the support it gave to good and disinterested work in the cause of the publication of Oriental writings which otherwise might never be published at all. Of the presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal in the course of the year he would say nothing lest he should embarrass the Chairman that afternoon, Professor Margoliouth. The Public School Gold Medal, it would appear, now attracted very few competitors, and this was to be regretted. The list of lectures given in the report was satisfactory, but there was no feature of the report more gratifying than the reference to the library and the grant thereto by the Carnegie Trustees. The printed catalogue now under preparation would be extremely useful not only to their own members, but also, he did not doubt, to many other persons not known to the Society and to many other libraries. It would enable them to see that the library of the Royal Asiatic Society was in some respects unique. He thought the Society was to be congratulated on the year's working, and he had pleasure in moving the adoption of the report.

Colonel Lorimer, in seconding, said that their thanks were due to the various officials, including the honorary officers, who had carried on the work of the Society so efficiently during the year. He might be permitted to say something regarding their poverty—a matter which in his younger days was never talked about by people but which now was as common a topic of conversation as the weather. The accounts showed that they paid their way. The question was whether it was sufficient for a society of the distinction of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had now existed for over a hundred years, and had so many accomplishments to its credit, to merely carry on in the traditional way without new developments. Reference had been made to the library

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and its prosperity. One would like to see the library better accommodated in a building where there would also be provision for a lounge for rest and conversation. Much was done with publications, but much more could be done, and he sometimes had visions of a Publications Committee which would always be in session and would not be prevented by financial stringency from giving support to satisfactory proposals from the scholars which made them. They ought to be able to subsidize research work much more fully than they did at present. He did not know whether they had anyone who could do for them what was done by Lord Curzon when he secured the removal of the Royal Geographical Society from Savile Row to Lowther Lodge. Their Society could not make the same popular appeal as the Royal Geographical Society, for geographical details were of more interest to the general public than Oriental research. But he felt that there was one possible line of appeal. They had a great number of Indian members who were scholars, but he believed that they had only a very few of the Ruling Princes of India on their roll.

Mr. Perowne as honorary treasurer gave details of the financial position. He said that last year the effective membership was 865, and this year it had risen to about 910 or 915. Having passed the 900 mark, it was reasonable to hope that their membership would be a thousand before long. The £400 received from the Carnegie Trustees was a most welcome support for the library; but it had to be borne in mind that the grant was strictly limited to the purposes of the library. In connexion with the enforced rebuilding of the chimneys he mentioned that the Duke of Westminster, the ground landlord, had kindly given a special donation of £25. While their membership was increasing, their expenditure was also increasing, and they needed a larger income in order to respond to the activities of the Society and provide against contingencies, the credit balance being only £128 10*s*. He hoped, therefore, that members would do their best to increase

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the membership. He expressed his thanks to the assistant secretary, Mrs. Davis, for the help she had given in dealing with the accounts.

The Chairman said they would all share with him in his disappointment that their President, owing to his numerous engagements, was unable to take the chair. The Council of the Society would agree with him in an expression of appreciation of the services rendered by Lord Zetland. As a member of the Council, he could say how much they admired the wisdom of his advice which never failed when they had difficult questions to deal with. It was a source of pride to the Society that their President was the author of a great biography of one of our most distinguished statesmen, the late Lord Curzon. The Marquess of Zetland's life of that eminent statesman had been warmly received by those whose appreciation was most valued, and would be indispensable to all future historians of the eventful years with which it dealt.

It was the custom on these occasions for the chairman to say a little about the members whom the Society had lost by death during the year. Among them he would name, first, the Maharaja of Jhalawar, a good friend of the Empire and of the Society, a man of wide literary instincts, who composed books in Urdu, Hindi, and English, and corresponded in Sanskrit: an ardent traveller, who wrote books of travel which indicated keen observation and were fascinating in style: and a personal friend of many members. When, not many weeks ago, he (the Chairman) received in Calcutta an invitation to deliver the Wilson Lectures in Bombay, he was agreeably surprised by a visit in that city from the Maharaja's secretary, who, however, gave him the less agreeable intelligence that His Highness had gone to Bombay to obtain medical aid, and was lying ill at the Taj Mahal Hotel, but would be glad to see him. The Maharaja's intellect was so clear and his conversation so bright that he had no idea that the end could be so speedily approaching.

At the degree-giving Convocation of Calcutta University,

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which he attended a few days earlier, the Vice-Chancellor called attention to the loss which that University had sustained by the death of Syed Ameer Ali. The Syed was for many years a counsellor of their Society, and when on his appointment to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a dinner was arranged by the Eastern Question Association in his honour, the President of the Society, Lord Reay, was in the chair. Mr. Ameer Ali was personally known to and highly esteemed by many present. He won fame as a historian and as a lawyer. Though he belonged to a sect which had rarely been numerous, the Mu'tazilite Shias, his interest extended to all the Islamic peoples. The All-India Moslem League was to a great extent his creation. The great charm of his English style gave his writings wide circulation. As an interpreter of Moslem India to Europe he would not easily be replaced.

Canon Gairdner worked for many years as a missionary in Cairo, and made a profound study of the vernacular Arabic and of the phonetics of the language. He also devoted much attention to Islamic theology, and like another great missionary, Dr. Zwemer, adopted a sympathetic attitude. A gifted lady who co-operated with him in Cairo for some years, Miss Padwick, had composed a biography of Canon Gairdner, which would shortly be issued.

By the death of Professor Weir, of Glasgow, a scholar of great industry and ability, the circle of British Arabists and Hebraists had been seriously reduced. His work on the Sheiks of Morocco was familiar to those whose studies extended to French Islam. He also wrote on Biblical criticism. A fund was being raised in Glasgow to perpetuate his memory at the University. He also desired to refer to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mrs. Beveridge, who had co-operated for so many years with her husband in the study of Mogul literature, and of Mr. W. Coldstream, a member of the Society since 1908. He was a member of the I.C.S. for thirty-four years, and he contributed to the *Journal* a paper on the popular songs of some parts of India.

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Owing to the enterprise and initiative of their ex-President, Sir Edward Maclagan, the library was entering upon a new epoch of its existence, becoming more expansive and more easy of access than before, though that spectre which loomed before all librarians, want of space, was already assuming threatening proportions. However, methods not of exorcising, but of tackling it were being devised. The developments had entailed more work on their honorary librarian, Mr. Ellis, but they knew how gladly he sacrificed his time and gave his knowledge for the benefit of the Society. The *Journal*, which like many others had become emaciated in consequence of the War, had now nearly recovered its former dimensions. Some members had complained and even left the Society because the articles which filled it were too technical in character. The *Journal* ought, they thought, to be more popular. This view was not shared by the Council, who meant to be stubbornly scientific. Another matter which might require handling was the scope of the *Journal*. As would be seen, they did their best to provide that no part of the vast region with which their title associated them should be neglected. There were now so many Oriental journals specialized and general that if the Locarno spirit developed some mode of dealing with this difficulty might be devised; the difficulty arose from the fact that each member of the Society was likely to be interested only in a small part of each *Journal*.

Mention of the Locarno spirit led him to say a little about the Congress of Orientalists, which took place in Oxford last August. It had something to do with the Society. In pre-Locarno days the R.A.S. and the similar societies of France, Italy, and the United States of America kept up the principle of co-operation by annual meetings, but when it was found possible to resume the old series of International Congresses, the R.A.S. was one of the first to give its adhesion. And when similar societies in Germany, America, as well as in France, Italy, Holland, etc., had signified their intention of sending delegates, the organizing committee, remembering the

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skill and tact, the energy and the influence which Lord Chalmers had displayed when president of the R.A.S. in organizing its centenary festival, appealed to him to preside over the Oxford Congress of Orientalists. As an Oxford man who was Principal of a Cambridge College, as a former Governor of Ceylon and high official in the Government here, and as an Orientalist of fame, he appeared to them to be marked out as the ideal person to preside. The wisdom of the choice was in every way confirmed by the result.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of auditors were accepted.

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*11th June*

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the chair.

The following were elected Members of the Society :—

Syed Mohiuddin Ahmad.
Mr. S. Masum Ali.
Dvijnath Pandit Sri Vishavambhar Nath Bajpai, B.A.
Mr. Nand Lal Singh Bhalla, B.A., B.T.
Baboo Sitaram Kanoujia, B.A.
Miss Florence Lederer (Student).
Syed Abdul Majid.
Mr. Rashid A. Munshi, B.Ag.
Dr. A. Sitarama Nayudu, L.C.P., etc.
Major G. H. Rooke.
Mr. Kunwar Chandkaran Sarda, B.A., LL.B.
Mrs. Walter Sedgwick.
Pandit Suryadeo Sharma, M.A.
Pandit Hariram Solanki.
Dr. M. Zainulabidin.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Elden Rutter read a paper on "The Arabians", illustrated by lantern slides.

An abstract of the paper will appear in the October *Journal*.

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Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to vols. 1 and 2 and the index which were issued in a supplement.

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The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v–vii, 1855–9.

*Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

*Le Muséon*, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to the end of the series, about 1915.

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# OBITUARY

## Mrs. Beveridge

By the death of Mrs. Annette Susannah Beveridge at the age of 87, on Friday, 27th March, the Society lost one of its most widely known and scholarly members.

Mrs. Beveridge was born in 1842, her father, William Akroyd, being a member of a well-known Yorkshire stock. She was educated at Bedford College, London, where she entered in 1862, completing her studies in 1867. In 1872 she went to India, where she carried out a project of establishing an undenominational school for girls, which she successfully opened in the latter part of 1873. In 1875 she married Mr. Henry Beveridge, of the Bengal Civil Service, under whose guidance she entered upon the study of Oriental languages, especially Persian. Later on, she took up the study of Eastern Turkish.

Mrs. Beveridge is the author of several works of considerable importance for the history of the early Moghul Emperors of India. The chief of these are :—

A translation from the German of Noer's *History of Akbar* (1890) ;

*The Humāyān-nāmah*, or Memoirs of Gulbadan Begim, one of the Emperor Bābur's daughters, edited in Persian, with a translation, and published in the Oriental Translation Fund Series (1902) ;

A facsimile of the Turki text of the Memoirs of Bābur from the Hyderabad MS., with an analytical index, published by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial (1905) ;

A translation of the preceding from the original Turki text, with copious notes, issued in four parts at intervals, during the years from 1912 to 1921.

Beside the above, Mrs. Beveridge is the author of a large number of articles on Oriental subjects, published in the *Journal* of this Society, and elsewhere. At the time of her death she was still engaged upon a revision of her edition and translation of the *Humāyān-nāmah*.

A. G. E.

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1929
PART II.—APRIL

# The Last Buwayhids

Ath. (B.) . ,, ,, ,, Búláq, 1290–1873.
Dh. . Al-Dhahabí : *ta'rikh al-islám* (B.M. codex, Or. 49).
*J.n.* . The *fárs-námeh*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson (Gibb Memorial, New Series, i).
H.A. . Ḥáfiẓ Abrú : *Geography* (B.M. codex, Or. 1577).
Kh.A. . Khwánd Amír : *ḥabíb al-siyar* (extract published by Ranking as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910).
M.Kh. . Mír Khwánd : *rawḍat al-ṣafá* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, Berlin, 1835).
*Recueil* . *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma.
,, I . Muḥammad Ibrahím : *History of the Seljuqids of Kirmán.*
,, II . al-Bundárí's recension of the *nuṣrat al-fatrah* of the 'Imád al-Dín of Iṣfahán.



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## CORRIGENDA

p. 114, l. 5 *chetiyaghara* read *cetiyaghara.*

p. 115, l. 27 *Praś-āsti* read *Praśasti.*

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1929

PART II.—APRIL

# The Last Buwayhids

BY HAROLD BOWEN

THE introduction to the edition of the *fárs-námeh* of "Ibn al-Balkhí" by Mr. Le Strange and Professor Nicholson contains a long passage dealing with the end of the Buwayhid or Búyid dynasty. This passage, and particularly its footnotes, show that there are points in this section of history that it would be interesting to clear up. I have attempted to clear them up in what follows. For the purpose I have used a number of Arabic and Persian works, indicated respectively in the footnotes to my account by the letters or words preceding each name in the following list.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ath. (T.) | Ibn al-Athír : *al-kámil*, ed. Tornberg. |
| Ath. (B.) | ,, ,, ,, Búláq, 1290–1873. |
| Dh. | Al-Dhahabí : *ta'ríkh al-islám* (B.M. codex, Or. 49). |
| *f.n.* | The *fárs-námeh*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson (Gibb Memorial, New Series, i). |
| H.A. | Ḥáfiẓ Abrú : *Geography* (B.M. codex, Or. 1577). |
| Kh.A. | Khwánd Amír : *ḥabíb al-siyar* (extract published by Ranking as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910). |
| M.Kh. | Mír Khwánd : *rawḍat al-ṣafá* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, Berlin, 1835). |
| Recueil | *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma. |
| ,, I | Muḥammad Ibrahím : *History of the Seljuqids of Kirmán.* |
| ,, II | al-Bundári's recension of the *nuṣrat al-fatrah* of the 'Imád al-Dín of Iṣfahán. |



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S.J. . . Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí: *mir'át al-zamán* (Paris codex, Arabe, 1506).

*t.g.* . The *ta'rikh-i guzídeh* of Ḥamd Allah the *mustawfí* (Gibb Memorial, xiv).

*zíj* . . *al-zíj al-sanjarí*, almanac compiled by al-Kháziní (B.M. codex, Or. 6669, fol. 79*a*—table of the Buwayhid dynasty).

There is no need to comment on any of these works except that of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí and the *zíj*. The codex used of the first covers the years 440 to 517, and is extremely detailed from the year 448 owing to the fact that the lost history of Muḥammad ibn Hilál al-Ṣábí, which the Sibṭ draws upon very freely, began at this date. The British Museum codex of the *mir'át al-zamán* (Or. 4619) goes down to the year 460; but it omits all but a fraction of the matter contained in the Paris codex from 448 onwards, and appears indeed to contain no more than extracts from the work as it was originally written.[1] It omits a great deal of the matter relating to the Seljuqids, and concentrates on events in Baghdád and in Syria and on signs and wonders. The Paris codex, on the other hand, is especially useful for my purpose, since it elucidates the history of the end of the Buwayhid rule in Fárs. As for the *zíj*, though it is named after sultan Sanjar, it cannot have been finished as it stands, even if it was begun, in his reign, which came to an end in 552 (1157), since in the table dealing with the 'Abbásid caliphs the compiler shows al-Náṣir, who succeeded only in 575 (1180).

. . . .

The rule of the Buwayhids was always more like an ill-regulated confederacy than an empire. Only for a very short space during its life of a hundred years odd [2] was it in the hands

[1] Amedroz, however (see *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 854), expresses the opinion that the Paris codex embodies part of a later recension of the work, comprising "added matter, drawn probably from authorities to which the author had later access".

[2] The first three emirs were recognized and given their titles by the caliph al-Mustakfí in 334 (946); and the last emir was deposed by Ṭughrul-beg in 447 (1055). 'Alí ibn Buwayh first grew powerful as early as 321 (933), however, and a Buwayhid appears to have held fiefs from the Seljuqids up to 490 (1097).

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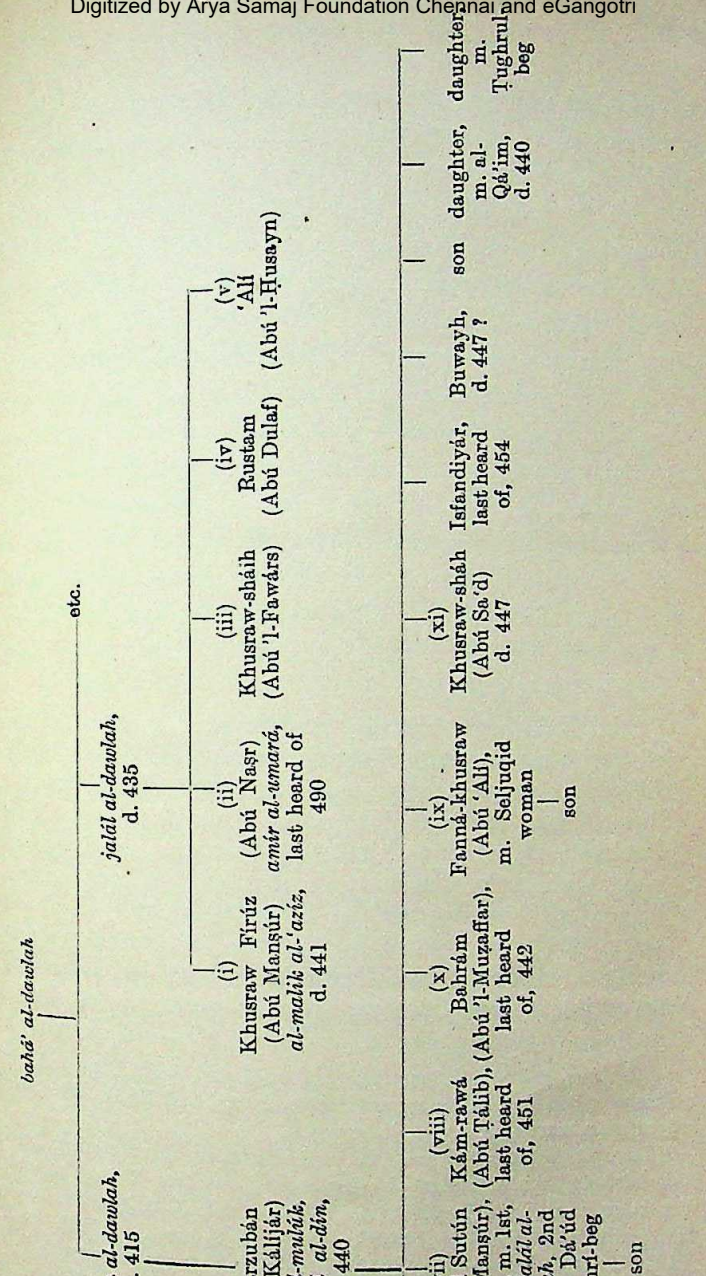


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of one man: generally it was divided between three at least, each one of whom was jealous of, and often actually at war with, the others.

In the year 430 A.H. (A.D. 1038–9) there were two chief Buwayhid princes, between whom was divided what was left of the territories once in possession of the dynasty. For in 419 (1028–9) Maḥmúd of Ghazneh had invaded the Jibál province and carried off the Majd al-Dawlah captive from Ray; whilst his son Mas'úd had shortly afterwards occupied Iṣfahán, so that the Buwayhid territories henceforward comprised only al-'Iráq, Khúzistán, Fárs, Kirmán, and 'Umán. In 430 al-'Iráq (except al-Baṣrah) was controlled (nominally) by the Emir of Emirs, Abú Ṭáhir Shírzíl, entitled *jalál al-dawlah*. Al-Baṣrah, and the other provinces mentioned, were controlled (more really) by his nephew Abú Kálíjár al-Marzubán, entitled *'izz al-mulúk*, and later *muḥyí al-dín* and/or *al-'imád li-dín allah*.[1]

Abú Kálíjár, or Kálízár, is perhaps a Persian rendering of the fairly common Arabic *kunyah* Abú 'l-Hayjá. For *kálízár* is, or was, apparently a Gílání dialect word for "war", or "fight".[2] The name is nowhere spelt Kálízár but in the *zíj*, as far as I know; elsewhere it is always spelt either Kálíjár or Kálinjár, forms that perhaps represent "standard" as opposed to dialect Persian. The Gílání origin of the word would, of course, account for its first being used under the Buwayhids, and for its being a favourite *kunyah* of theirs (Huart gives a list of seven eminent persons of the period bearing it—all of whom are

[1] The first of these titles is given in the *zíj*, and by Ath., the *f.n.* making no mention of a title. The second is given by *t.g.* and Kh.A., the latter of whom adds, moreover, *husám al-dawlah*.

[2] See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 95. I find since writing that these *kunyahs* have already been identified—by Professor Ross (see "On three minor dynasties in northern Persia", *Asia Major*, vol. ii, 210, note), and also that in the *ráḥat al-ṣudúr* (Gibb Memorial New Series, ii), p. 105, our Abú Kálíjár is actually called Abú 'l-Hayjá. In this passage the word *ibn* has been omitted after the word Abú'l-Hayjá, so that it reads as if *sulṭán al-dawlah* were Abú' l-Hayjá's (Abú Kálíjár's) title. This omission has also caused the author of the article, *sulṭán*, in the *Encyclopædia*, iv, 543, to assert that al-Malik al-Raḥím was entitled *sulṭán al-dawlah*. Cf. the confusion in Ḥ.A., noted below. But there is no other instance of a Buwayhid's taking a title already used, and no other mention of this as a title of al-Raḥím's.

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either connected with the Buwayhids, or themselves from the Caspian coast)[1]. The form with Bá (for Abú), invariable in Bayhaqí[2] and the *fárs-námeh*, shows it, of course, as still more characteristically provincial Persian.

The Jalál al-Dawlah had been created emir in 416 (1025–6); but from the beginning of his emirate his hold on the government had been exceedingly weak. Baghdád was at this time the scene of interminable sectarian riots, complicated by the racial rivalries of the garrison, which was composed of Arabs, Daylamites, and Turks. Moreover, a section of the latter had from the first favoured the claims to the emirate of Abú Kálíjár, who was the son of a former emir, the Jalál's elder brother, the Sulṭán al-Dawlah: three attempts had actually been made to displace the Jalál in Abú Kálíjár's favour; and during the early years of the Jalál's emirate warfare between them was almost continuous. The anarchy at the capital reached its climax in the years following 423 (1032), during which the Jalál was three times obliged to flee for his life. But in 428 (1037) uncle and nephew at last made peace; and the position of both improved. Abú Kálíjár had always been stronger than his uncle, however. When the Jalál died, in 435 (1044), it was to be expected, therefore, that Abú Kálíjár should dispute the succession with his heir.[3]

The *zíj* shows the Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Kálíjár as having five sons apiece[4]; but as the compiler professes in

[1] *Encyclopædia*, i, 95.

[2] *ta'rikh-i ál-i sabuk-tigín*, ed. Morley (*Bibliotheca Indica*). Náṣir-i Khusraw uses the odd mixture Abá Kálinjár: see *safar-námeh*, ed. Schefer (text), 85, 91 (trans.) 236 (here the all-important word *pisar* is not translated, so the passage reads as if Abú Kálíjár were still alive—in 443), 248, 249.

[3] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 94–5, 1003–4—accounts based on Ath. and M.Kh.

[4] In *f.n.*, xiv, note, the fact has escaped the editor that the five sons of Abú Kálíjár are shown as well as those of the Jalál al-Dawlah, doubtless because their names are separated from their father's name by a column written at right-angles. But there is no doubt that these *are* the names of Abú Kálíjár's sons. For one thing his name is written specially large as a "heading" to theirs, so that one should not take them (as from their position one might) for the names of the Majd al-Dawlah's family; and, for another, the *zíj* is borne out in naming them as it does by Ath.

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the heading under which their names are placed only to show such sons as were known to him by name, they may each have had, as Abú Kálíjár certainly had, more.[1]

The Jalál al-Dawlah's sons (as shown in the *zíj*) were :—

Abú Manṣúr Khusruh Fírúz, entitled *al-malik al-'azíz* (i).

Abú Naṣr, entitled *amír al-umará* (ii).

The emir Abú 'l-Fawáris Khusruh-sháh (iii).

The emir Abú Dulaf Rustam (iv).

The emir Abú 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alí (v).[2]

Only the first two of these are mentioned (as far as I know) elsewhere in histories.

Abú Kálíjár's sons (also as shown in the *zíj*) were :—

Khusruh Fírúz, entitled *al-malik al-raḥím* (vi).[3]

The emir Fúlád Sutun (vii).

The emir Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá (viii).

The emir Abú 'Alí Fanná-khusruh (ix).

The emir Abú'l-Muẓaffar Bahrám (x).

Ibn al-Athír [4] reproduces the above list, only adding the *kunyah* of (vii), viz. Abú Manṣúr, reversing the order of (ix) and (x), and writing Khusraw for Khusruh, Fulá Sutún for Fúlád Sutun, Kám-rú for Kám-rawá, and Kay-khusraw for Fanná-khusruh. But he also names another son, about whom we know otherwise a certain amount: the emir Abú Sa'd [5] Khusraw-sháh (xi); and states that Abú Kálíjár had still three other sons, not yet grown up when he died—one of whom is named by the Sibṭ, Buwayh, and another, Isfandiyár.[6]

[1] It is a curious coincidence that the *f.n.*, 172, should also attribute only five sons to Abú Kálíjár.

[2] In *f.n.*, xv, note, the editor reads three of these *kunyahs* differently. For my Abú Naṣr he reads Abú Shujá', for Abú Dulaf Abú Dáma, and for Abú 'l-Ḥusayn Abú 'l-Ḥasan. The *zíj* lacks, except in the bigger headings, nearly all vowel, and a great many diacritical, points: hence the spelling intended is sometimes uncertain.

[3] Correct Kh.A., 119, where the text has Khusraw ibn Fírúz.

[4] Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

[5] M.Kh., and Kh.A. have Sa'íd for Sa'd.

[6] S.J. ff. 81*a* and 82*b*.

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Abú Kálíjár had also at least two daughters, of whom one married the caliph al-Qá'im and died in 440 (1048–9),[1] and the other married sultan Ṭughrul-beg,[2] whom she fascinated enough to provoke the jealousy of his other strong-minded wife, the widow of the Khwárizm-sháh.[3] Something is known, as I propose to show, about all the six sons of Abú Kálíjár named by Ibn al-Athír.

I may here note that the *zíj* is somewhat confusing in one place, namely the line dealing with the princes al-Malik al-Azíz (i) and al-Malik al-Raḥím (vi). It suggests at first sight that these two titles are to be applied to one and the same man (hence the difficulty in the *fárs-námeh* note, p. xv); but that this is not so is shown by the fact that each title has its own figure—18 and 19 respectively (in "*abjad*" notation)—in the first column (headed "*tartíbuhum*"). In the "*kunyah*" and "name" columns all reference to al-Malik al-Raḥím is omitted, the *zíj* showing simply "Abú Manṣúr" in the first and "Khusruh Fírúz ibn Jalál al-Dawlah" in the second. In the last column, on the other hand, the remark "sultan Ṭughrul-beg arrested him, and their kingdom came to an end" does without any doubt apply to al-Malik al-Raḥím. If the compiler himself was confused about the two princes, it was probably first because of the similarity of their titles, and secondly because they both had the same name, Khusruh Fírúz—though different *kunyahs*.

The Jalál al-Dawlah designed to succeed him his eldest son, i.e. Abú Manṣúr Khusruh Fírúz (i), who had been born in 407 (1016–17), and so was now twenty-eight years of age. During his father's lifetime this prince had been given first the governorship of al-Baṣrah, as long as that province remained in the Jalál's possession, and later the governorship of Wásiṭ. But he had no taste for public affairs, and devoted

[1] S.J., f. 2*b*.
[2] Ath. (B.), ix, 199.
[3] S.J., f. 47*b*. What Khwárizm-sháh?—possibly Ismá'íl ibn Altúntásh, who, on being driven from his capital in 432 (1040–1), had sought refuge with the Seljuqids. See Bayhaqí, op. cit., 866–7, and Ath. (B), ix, 189.

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himself to dissipation on the one hand, and on the other to literature, history, and grammar, becoming in time a very fair poet. His title *al-malik al-'azíz* is said to have been the first to contain the word *malik* [1]; but whether, like that of his cousin, *al-malik al-raḥím*, it provoked the caliph's disapproval on account of its being a "name of God" [2] we are not told.

Al-'Azíz (as I shall call him for convenience) was in Wásiṭ when his father died. The all-powerful garrison at Baghdád wrote to him proffering their allegiance in exchange for a swift payment of the gratuity customary at an accession. But al-'Azíz had only slender means; a long delay ensued; and this Abú Kálíjár turned to good use by offering, for his part, an ample and immediate payment. He also presented the caliph al-Qá'im with gifts: with the result that his name was inserted in the *khuṭbah* at Baghdád (as well as in the Ḥulwán district, the Euphrates territory, and Diyár Bakr) in *ṣafar* 436 (September, 1044), either before or after that of al-'Azíz [3]; and that the caliph bestowed on him the title mentioned above, *muḥyí al-dín*. Abú Kálíjár set out for Baghdád from the south early in this year, and arrived there, after visiting, like a good Shí'ite, the shrines of the *imáms* at Najaf and Karbalá, in *ramaḍán* (April, 1045), being careful to humour the garrison by restricting the number of his escort. On hearing of his approach to the capital, al-'Azíz hurriedly left Wásiṭ, intent on reaching Baghdád before him. But his troops mutinied half-way (at al-Nu'mániyyah), turned back to Wásiṭ, and declared

[1] Dh., f. 197*a*. M.Kh., 52, states that the Jalál al-Dawlah was given the *laqab malik al-mulúk*, but possibly this is merely an Arabic version of *sháhánsháh*, which had been used by several of the earlier Buwayhids. Cf. *chahár maqáleh* (Gibb Memorial, xi, trans.), 19, note . The word *malik* is also found on many earlier Buwayhid and Sámánid coins, but only in what may be called "prefatory" titles, which were used by provincial potentates during the fourth century in describing themselves, and were not officially conferred.

[2] Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

[3] Dh., f. 176*a*.

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for his rival. The power of Abú Kálíjár, was now, in fact, established. Al-'Azíz spent the next five years moving from one provincial court to another, begging assistance wherewith to assert his rights—but always in vain. He visited in turn the Mazyadite Núr al-Dawlah, the 'Uqaylid Qirwásh ibn al-Muqallad, with whom he travelled to Mosul; Abú 'l-Shawk, the lord of Ḥulwán, the Seljuqid Ibrahím Yinál (Ṭughrul's half-brother), and finally the Marwánid Naṣr al-Dawlah. He twice led an expedition, in attempts to set himself up, once on Baghdád, and once, after Abú Kálíjár's death, in 440 (1049), on al-Baṣrah. He died, aged 34, while still with the Marwánid, at Mayyáfáriqín, in *rabí' al-awwal* 441 (August-September, 1049).[1] His host bought from his heirs a famous jewel—*al-jabal al-yáqút*—which he subsequently presented to Ṭughrul, who in turn presented it to al-Qá'im.[2]

Abú Kálíjár lived four years after his establishment as sole Buwayhid sovereign. Most of the details of his life recorded during them illustrate his relationship with the expanding Seljuqid power, which he so feared as for the first time in its history to wall the city of Shíráz.[3] Thus in 436 and 437 (1044–6) the "Kákawayhid" of Iṣfahán twice withdrew in his favour the mention of Ṭughrul's name in the *khuṭbah*. Then, late in the latter year, when Ibrahím Yinál pushed his raids into the south-western Jibál and Lúristán, Abú Kálíjár prepared to challenge him, but was incapacitated by an outbreak of disease among his transport animals.[4] In 439 (1047–8), on the other hand, he resolved to ally himself with the Seljuqids; Ṭughrul welcomed his advances and instructed Ibrahím Yinál to encroach no further upon Buwayhid

[1] Ath. (B.), ix, 192–3, 195, 205, 209; Dh., ff. 194*a*, 197*a*: M.Kh., 52–3. Dh., f. 176*a* (notice of Jalál al-Dawlah) states that al-'Azíz yielded up his sovereignty of his own accord to Abú Kálíjár.
[2] S.J., f. 78*b*.
[3] *f.n.*, 133. He began building in 432 (1040–1), and finished in 440 (1048)—see Yáqút: *mu'jam al-buldán*, iii, 349.
[4] Ath. (B.), ix, 196–7.

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territory. The pact was cemented by two marriages: Ṭughrul married a daughter of Abú Kálíjár (as mentioned above) and Abú Kálíjár's second son, Abú Manṣúr Fúlád Sutún (vii), married a daughter of Ṭughrul's elder brother, Dá'úd Chaghrí-beg.[1] We learn from the *fárs-námeh* that in Abú Kálíjár's days the Ismá'ílí, or "Sevener", propaganda—"what," says the author, "they nowadays call the Báṭiní"—was pushed among the Daylamite troops in Fárs by an able missionary, who even succeeded in converting the prince himself. His religious convictions were not so strong, however, as to blind him to the political dangers of this movement; and, when they were pointed out to him by a sagacious *qáḍí*, he did not scruple secretly to banish the missionary, forbidding him on pain of death to return.[2] Abú Kálíjár died on 4th *jumádà'l-úlà* 440 (15th October, 1048) at Khannáb,[3] in Kirmán, probably from poison. He was on his way to vindicate his sovereignty over that province, which his governor, having been defeated by the Seljuqid Qáwurd, had sacrificed by allying himself with the invader. On Abú Kálíjár's death his army retired into Fárs; and henceforth Kirmán formed part of the Seljuqid empire.[4]

It soon became clear, after Abú Kálíjár's death, that the alliance between the Buwayhids and the Seljuqids was to have consequences important for both of them. For as time went on it effectually divided the Buwayhids into two groups, one of which Ṭughrul was able to use in defeating the other. Abú Kálíjár was succeeded as sovereign by his eldest son, Abú Naṣr (vi), who now took his title, *al-malik al-raḥím*, in spite, as I have mentioned, of the caliph's displeasure. His reign lasted seven years, during the whole of which he

[1] Ath. (B.), ix, 199; M.Kh., 53; *t.g.*, 432. Ḥ.A., f. 95*a* confuses Abú Kálíjár with his father, the Sulṭán al-Dawlah.

[2] *f.n.*, 119.

[3] Ath. has Jannáb.

[4] Ath. (B.), ix, 203–4: *Recueil*, i, 2–3; M.Kh., 53; Ḥ.A., loc. cit. S.J., f. 2*b* states that it was near al-Ahwáz that Abú Kálíjár died, and on 15th *jumádà'l-úlà*.

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was in untrammelled possession of al-'Iráq; up to the very end, however, he and his next brother, Abú Manṣúr Fúlád Sutún (vii), disputed between them the rule of both Fárs and Khúzistán. This opposition was brought about owing in the first place to the circumstance that whereas al-Raḥím (as I may now call him) was in Baghdád when his father died, Fúlád Sutún was with Abú Kálíjár in Kirmán. In spite, therefore, of the insubordination of the Turks in his force, Fúlád Sutún was able to set himself up at once in Shíráz, to which, afterwards, he never relinquished his claim. In asserting it, it was natural that he should look to his powerful Seljuqid connection; and Ṭughrul, of course, was far from loath thus to undermine such opposition as the Buwayhid power still offered to his ascendency.

With the exception of Abú 'l-Muẓaffar Bahrám (x), who became governor of 'Umán, perhaps in his father's lifetime—and who, by leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of an incompetent eunuch, provoked there in 442 (1050–1) an insurrection in which he was captured and imprisoned in a mountain stronghold [1]—all the elder sons of Abú Kálíjár took part in these disputes. To begin with all the others were against Fúlád Sutún; but first, in 443 (1051–2), Abú 'Alí (ix), who until that date had held al-Baṣrah, fell out with, and was evicted by, al-Raḥím,[2] towards whom he was henceforth inimical; and later, in 447 (1055–6), Abú Sa'd (xi), who was at first his most formidable enemy, temporarily allied himself with Fúlád Sutún against a local rebel.[3] The remaining brother, Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá (viii), was perhaps the most closely attached to al-Raḥím. But he, too, seems later to have made his peace with Ṭughrul.[4]

Fúlád Sutún had lorded it in Shíráz only a few months when he was attacked, defeated, and captured, with his

[1] Ath. (T.), ix, 387.
[2] Ibid., 403–4.
[3] Ath. (B.), ix, 226.
[4] S.J., f. 29*b*.

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mother, the lady Khurásúyeh,[1] by al-Raḥím's troops, commanded by Abú Sa'd (*shawwál* 440: March–April, 1049). Next year al-Raḥím appeared in Fárs in person, but was soon obliged to retire, owing to the quarrels of the Turks in his army. He left Abú Sa'd and Abú Ṭálib behind to represent him; but in the meantime, Fúlád Sutún had escaped from his confinement and collected a large force, with which he easily possessed himself again of the whole province. In *dhú'l-qa'dah* (March–April, 1050) al-Raḥím made another attempt against him; but was so badly beaten that he and his two allied brothers were obliged to abandon not only Fárs but Khúzistán as well.[2] The loyalty of Fúlád's men was so uncertain, however, that he was unable to obtain any firm footing in Khúzistán. Al-Raḥím re-occupied al-Ahwáz four months later, and in 443 (1051–2) a detachment of his army, after heavily defeating Fúlád Sutún, retook Shíráz, which Abú Sa'd, who was again in command, continued to hold till the end of 445 (beginning of 1054).[3] In the meantime, however, al-Raḥím, with his main force, had once more been driven back into al-'Iráq by Fúlád and certain local allies, who were now, for the first time, supported by reinforcements supplied by Ṭughrul.[4]

At the beginning of 444 (May, 1052), therefore, whilst Abú Sa'd was in possession of Shíráz and its district (having so effectively routed Fúlád's men that they were hiding in bands in the mountains), Fúlád himself was in precarious

[1] Her name is given in the *f.n.*, 166, and by S.J., f. 81*a*. It is stated in the introduction to the *f.n.*, p. xiv, that she is referred to in the *zíj*. But I think it is clear that the *sayyidah* there mentioned is really a much more famous lady, the mother of the Majd al-Dawlah, who did, in fact, as the *zíj* adds, reign twenty years and die in 418 (1027–8)—the date, which is much too early for our *sayyidah*, being again given in "*abjad*" notation: *tá-yá-ḥá*.

[2] Ath. (B.), ix, 207, 208–9; M.Kh., 54.

[3] Ath. (B.), ix, 210.

[4] It was these skirmishes that caused Náṣir-i Khusraw, then on his way home, to write: "I stayed in Mahrúbán because they said that the roads were unsafe on account of the sons of Abá Kálinjár, who were fighting and quarrelling with one another . . ." see *safar-námeh* (text), 91 (trans.), 249.

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occupation of Khúzistán, and al-Raḥím confined to al-'Iráq. It was at this point, however, that al-Raḥím fell out with Abú 'Alí, whom he drove from al-Baṣrah in *sha'bán* of the same year (December, 1052–January, 1053), after which he advanced on al-Ahwáz and obtained by a treaty with their respective lords the towns of Tustar and Arraján. Abú 'Alí, on his expulsion, fled by sea to the coast of Fárs, through which he made his way, accompanied by his mother, to Iṣfahán, where he sought Ṭughrul's support. Ṭughrul (just recovered from what all had supposed a fatal illness) received him with enthusiasm, gave him a Seljuqid lady to wife, presented him with fiefs, and promised to help him against his overweening brother.[1]

This was the beginning of the end for al-Raḥím. Towards the end of 445 (beginning of 1054) Abú Sa'd, whose rule had become exceedingly unpopular, was evicted from Shíráz by Fúlád Sutún, who, as soon as he had re-established himself, caused Ṭughrul's name to be inserted, for the first time, before al-Raḥím's and his own in the *khuṭbah*.[2] Then, in 446 (1054–5), Ṭughrul, as good as his word, supplied Abú 'Alí with a force of Turkmáns, with which he invaded Khúzistán and occupied al-Ahwáz. And with this al-Raḥím, although in 447 (1055) he was momentarily recognized by a local rebel as sole sovereign in Fárs,[3] was finally driven back into al-'Iráq. This was the year of Ṭughrul's first famous entry into Baghdád and his final recognition by the caliph. Al-Raḥím, seeing that his cause was hopeless, agreed, before the sultan's arrival, to acknowledge his suzerainty, and put his case for negotiation into the hands of al-Qá'im. This did not save him, however. Although Ṭughrul at first undertook to "change nothing" in al-Raḥím's state,[4] a riot that broke out in Baghdád on the morrow of the Seljuqids' entry was attributed to

[1] Ath. (B.), ix, 219–20, 222.
[2] Ibid., 222; M.Kh., 54.
[3] Ath. (B.), ix, 225–6; M.Kh., loc. cit., states that al-Raḥím occupied Fárs in person this year.
[4] S.J., f. 10*a*.

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al-Raḥím's machinations. Ṭughrul thereupon arrested him, together with many of his supporters; and the Buwayhid *khuṭbah* was finally abolished in Baghdád at the end of *ramaḍán* (December, 1055). Al-Raḥím was first confined in the fortress of al-Sírawán, capital of the district of Másabadhán in the southern Jibál.[1] But in *rabí' al-awwal* 448 (May-June, 1056), he was translated to Ray, to the castle of Ṭabarak[2]; and there he remained until his death, which occurred in 450 (1058–9), or, according to Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, in 455 (1063).[3]

. . . .

The rule of the Buwayhid dynasty is generally reckoned, as in the *zíj*, to have come to an end with the arrest of al-Malik al-Raḥím, because he was the last of the house to reign in Baghdád.[4] Nevertheless, it continued a few years longer in Fárs. In 447 (1055), as I have noted, Fúlád Sutún and Abú Sa'd, after having fought ever since their father's death, combined against a rebel, the warden of the citadel of Iṣṭakhr, who for some months actually defied them in Shíráz.[5] But after his defeat and the arrest of al-Raḥím, they soon fell out again; and in the end Abú Sa'd was betrayed and killed,[6] together, it would appear, with one of the younger sons of Abú Kálíjár, by name Buwayh.[7] With this, Fúlád's sovereignty was at last established in Fárs; he had no rivals of his family to fear, and enjoyed the support of the Seljuqids. Yet he soon succeeded in undermining his own position.

[1] See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202; Ath. (B.), ix, 227–9; M.Kh. 54–6.

[2] S.J., f. 14*a*.

[3] Ath. (B.), ix, 244; *t.g.*, 433; Ḥ.A., loc. cit. (this may be merely a copyist's error, however).

[4] The *f.n.*, on the other hand, being concerned only with the affairs of Fárs, ignores al-Raḥím practically altogether, stating that he died soon after his father (which is misleading); and makes Abú Kálíjár's effective successor Fúlád Sutún, p. 172 (Abú Naṣr = al-Raḥím, Abú Manṣúr = Fúlád Sutún).

[5] Ath. (B.), ix, 226.

[6] M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.

[7] S.J., f. 81*a*.

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Fúlád Sutún owed such successes as he had had to the vizier that he had inherited from his father: Abú Manṣúr Hibat Allah ibn Aḥmad al-Fasawí, entitled *muhadhdhib al-dawlah*, and generally known as *al-'ádil*, or *ṣáḥib-i 'ádil*.[1] Abú Kálíjár had appointed this man to succeed his former vizier (Bahrám ibn Máfannah, also known as *al-'ádil*) on the latter's death, in 433 (1041–2)[2]; and he had proved himself a very able minister, "possessed of sagacity, capability in affairs, and courage."[3] Ibn al-Athír makes two further references to the *ṣáḥib*. In 434 (1042–3), he writes, the *ṣáḥib* was sent to withstand a Seljuqid attack on Kirmán[4]; and in 444 (1052–3) he tried to come to an understanding with certain Turkmán insurgents in Fárs, only to be imprisoned by them for his pains and robbed of three castles[5]; the *fárs-námeh* also mentions him as the founder of an incomparable library at Fírúzábád.[6] That Fúlád Sutún had been able on each occasion to recover his position as he had was due entirely to the *ṣáḥib*, who, as is stated by the Sibṭ, made absolutely his own the cause of Fúlád Sutún and his brother, Abú Sa'd.[7] It was perhaps natural, therefore, that once his security was assured, Fúlád should look upon his benefactor with jealousy and resentment. His mother, Khurásúyeh, who was a lady of irregular life, instigated him against the minister. One day in 449 (1057–8), accordingly, Fúlád Sutún entered the *ṣáḥib's* house in Shíráz with his Daylamites, and killed him, his son,[8] and his

[1] The identity of the al-Fasawí of Ath. with the *ṣáḥib-i 'ádil* of the *f.n.* is established by S.J., ff. 27*b* and 81*a*.
[2] Ath. (T.), ix, 344.
[3] *f.n.*, 166.
[4] Ath. (T.), ix, 349.
[5] Ath. (T.), 401. By an error in the index to Tornberg's edition, this reference is attached to Ibn Máfannah—owing probably to the fact that both he and al-Fasawí were called *al-'ádil* Abú Manṣúr. But that it should really be attached to al-Fasawí is clear, since Ibn Máfannah had died ten years earlier.
[6] *f.n.*, 139.
[7] Possibly this means that he had striven to reconcile them.
[8] S.J., f. 81*a*, names him Burmúzeh (?).

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attendants, as they sat at work, after which he pillaged his money and effects.[1]

"This folly and childishness" on the part of Fúlád Sutún brought chaos into the affairs of Fárs, which now remained without any effective ruler.[2] And in the end they were his own undoing: for a certain powerful chieftain of these parts had been advanced by the murdered minister, and now bided his time to avenge him. This chieftain was named in full Abú'l-'Abbás Faḍlawayh (al-Faḍl) ibn 'Alawayh ('Alí) ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyúb; he was of the Rámání clan of the Shabánkárah, a group of Kurdish shepherd tribes, reputed to have been settled in Fárs since Sasanian times, and much given to fighting.[3] Faḍlawayh had been brought to the *ṣáḥib's* notice by a commander named Jábí, of whom the minister had a high opinion, and had attained a prominent place in the Buwayhid service.[4]

Faḍlawayh was provoked into actual rebellion, it appears, by learning of the Fúlád's intention of putting him also to death in order to have no rival in his realm. We learn nothing of the course of their contest; but in 454 (1062) Faḍlawayh was finally victorious, when he captured both Fúlád and his mother at the gate of Shíráz. He imprisoned and killed Fúlád in the fortress of Pahan-diz; the immoral Khurásúyeh he destroyed by shutting her up in a waterless bath and causing it to be heated. Faḍlawayh then set up in Fúlád's place another of the younger sons of Abú Kálíjár, by name Isfandiyár. But he now became himself the real ruler of Fárs, and rewarded his fellow-tribesmen for their support with pay and the gift of some castles.[5]

[1] S.J., f. 27*b*; *f.n.*, 166; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.
[2] *f.n.*, 172.
[3] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 241.
[4] *f.n.*, 166.
[5] Ibid.; S.J., f. 81*a*; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120. *t.g.*, 433, followed by M.Kh. and Kh.A., puts Fúlád Sutún's death in 448, saying that he had reigned eight years. But the authority of S.J. is, of course, far superior: his whole account of the subsequent contest between Faḍlawayh and

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His triumph was ephemeral, however. For although the notables of the province had supported him in his conflict with Fúlád Sutún, the Turks and Daylamites of the army resented his usurpation, and secretly invited the ruler of Kirmán, Qáwurd-beg, Ṭughrul's nephew, to invade Fárs and displace him. In *rajab* of this year, accordingly (July–August, 1062), Qáwurd advanced on and laid siege to Shíráz. He had been warned to expect a show of resistance; but after three days the garrison capitulated, and he entered the city. Faḍlawayh had fled on his approach; and though Qáwurd followed him, and in a fight killed some of his supporters, he made good his escape to the mountain stronghold of Jahram.[1] Qáwurd then installed himself in Shíráz, caused Ṭughrul's name and his own to be inserted in the *khuṭbah*, and sent the young Isfandiyár and his mother prisoners to Kirmán.[2] This was the end of the Buwayhid power in Fárs. I may here ignore, therefore, the further contest of Qáwurd and Faḍlawayh for the province, only touching on it again below to explain how Fúlád Sutún was eventually avenged.

As for the other two sons of Abú Kálíjár, Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá (viii) and Abú 'Alí Fanná-khusraw (ix), the first seems to have followed the example of the second, and, after the arrest of al-Raḥím, to have made up to Ṭughrul, for we find them both present on the brilliant occasion of Ṭughrul's first interview with al-Qá'im, in *dhú'l-qa'dah* 449 (January, 1058).[3] After this, however, Abú Ṭálib must have incurred the displeasure of either the sultan or the caliph, possibly by

Qáwurd follows convincingly on this beginning, and is dated in detail. Perhaps the error is due to a reckoning of Fúlád's reign as from the death of Abú Kálíjár instead of from the arrest of al-Raḥím. The editor of the *ṭabaqát-i náṣirí* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 174, note, states that it was in 459 that Faḍlawayh killed Fúlád Sutún, but he cites no authority for the statement.

[1] Jahram was famous for the castle of Khurshah (see Le Strange, op cit., 254), where Faḍlawayh was later besieged by the Niẓám al-Mulk (*f.n.*, 131; S.J., f. 117*b*).

[2] S.J., f. 82*b*; *f.n.*, 166. In *Recueil*, ii, 31, it is stated that Qáwurd took Shíráz in 455 (the next year), perhaps because it was not, in fact, till then that he first decisively beat Faḍlawayh.

[3] S.J., f. 29*b*.



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an ill-timed display of his Shí'ite sympathies, with the result that he was imprisoned in a house in west Baghdád, where he remained in confinement till early in *dhú'l-qa'dah* 450 (December, 1058–January, 1059), the month of the entry into Baghdád of the Shí'ite champion, al-Basásírí. Abú Ṭálib was then released by a detachment of al-Basásírí's men, who thereupon hoisted a standard for him opposite the *dár al-mamlakah*. They had been ordered ahead to spy out the land, and now, since the Shí'ite population of al-Karkh had received them with acclamation, sent back word to the general urging him to advance on the capital. Then, when it was evening, they carried Abú Ṭálib in a litter to the village of 'Aqarqúf, where next day al-Basásírí met them. The interview between the prince and the general was unsatisfactory, however; and Abú Ṭálib found himself in the general's train with "neither his affairs regarded nor his deserts recognized".[1] Al-Basásírí determined, nevertheless, to make use of him. In *ṣafar* of the following year (March–April, 1059), having occasion to send a letter to Egypt, he chose Abú Ṭálib as his envoy. "But," writes the Sibṭ, "he sent only Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá,[2] son of the prince Abú Kálíjár ibn Buwayh, and the small she-elephant; he sent no money or anything . . ."[3]—this because he was on bad terms with al-Mustanṣir's vizier. And that, I believe, is the last we hear of Abú Ṭálib.

Abú 'Alí, on the other hand, prospered under the Seljuqid régime, although Ṭughrul's triumph involved, in the first place, a disappointment for him. In 448 (1056–7) the vizier al-Kundurí arranged a fiscal contract with a former ally of

[1] S.J., f. 48*b*.

[2] S.J. has Káfúr here, but—apart from the consideration that this would be a most unlikely name for a Daylamite (being usually reserved, facetiously, for negro slaves)—elsewhere he has Kám-rú and Kám-rawá, which latter, since it agrees with the *zíj's*, I have taken to be the correct version of this name.

[3] S.J., f. 55*b*.

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Fúlád Sutún (the Táj al-Mulúk Hazárasp ibn Bankír) for al-Baṣrah and Khúzistán. This move annoyed a number of Daylamites from these parts that had come to court, but it annoyed none more than Abú 'Alí, who had hoped with the defeat of al-Raḥím to have al-Baṣrah restored to him. He appealed to Ṭughrul through his Seljuqid wife and the son that she had borne him, reminding Ṭughrul also that he was his brother-in-law. Ṭughrul did not respond. He did, however, grant Abu 'Alí the city and district of Qirmísín (Kirmánsháh) in fief.[1]

During the rest of Ṭughrul's reign Abú 'Alí appears to have been a frequent visitor at the headquarters camp. Thus in *al-muḥarram* 448 (March–April, 1056) he witnessed the marriage of al-Qá'im with Ṭughrul's niece Khadíjah (Arslán Khátún)[2]; in 449 (1057–8), as I have mentioned, he was present at the first meeting of Ṭughrul and al-Qá'im[3]; in *ṣafar* 452 (March–April, 1060), after the defeat of al-Basásírí, he came back to Baghdád with Ṭughrul[4]; and finally, in 455 (1063), he was in Ṭughrul's train when the sultan returned from his last tour in Adharbayján.[5]

Abú 'Alí's relations with Alp Arslán seem to have been equally amicable. After the new monarch's first triumphant campaign in Georgia and Armenia, he returned at the end of 456 (1064) to Hamadán, and was there met by a concourse of minor potentates. Abú 'Alí was among them, and now, presumably because he asked for it, Alp Arslán granted him a revenue contract for the province of al-Baṣrah, in return for which Abú 'Alí surrendered the fiefs of Qum and Qáshán (for which he had perhaps exchanged that of Qirmísín in the interval[6]). Abú 'Alí hastened to al-Baṣrah; but Hazárasp,

[1] S.J., f. 11*b*; Ath. (B.), ix, 229.
[2] Ath. (B.), ix, 231.
[3] S.J., f. 29*b*.
[4] Ath. (B.), x, 3.
[5] S.J., f. 87*b*; Ath. (T.), x, 15.
[6] Unless *qumm wa qáshán* has here been written in error for *qirmísín* or *qirmásín*.

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in whose hands it still was, objected, on learning of his approach, that the sultan had no good reason for evicting him. And he went on to argue that Abú 'Alí's appointment was ill-advised; both he and his father, Abú Kálíjár, had lorded it in the province: he would be too hazardously popular with the inhabitants.[1] So Abú 'Alí was again disappointed—for though it is not stated explicitly that Alp Arslán revoked his order, it is to be presumed that he did, since Hazárasp remained in possession. However, Alp Arslán gave him, perhaps in compensation, the fief of Nawbandaján in Fárs.[2]

After this we learn nothing more of Abú 'Alí till 461 (1068–9). Alp Arslán devoted the whole of that year to a campaign in Fárs and Kirmán against his brother Qáwurd-beg and Faḍlawayh, now allied in revolt. Soon after the sultan's arrival in Fárs, Faḍlawayh's brother al-Ḥasan (Ḥasanawayh) came to him claiming to have broken with the rebels, and undertaking to obtain for him some of Faḍlawayh's castles and treasure. After a time, however, when he failed to fulfil this promise, Alp Arslán suspected that he was acting as Faḍlawayh's spy. One day, accordingly, after a carouse, he summoned Ḥasanawayh and, in spite of his excuses, decreed his death. He first handed him over to Abú 'Alí, who was present, saying: "Take him and kill him, for his brother killed yours." But Abú 'Alí pointed out that a son of Fúlád Sutún, who was also present, had a better right of vengeance. Ḥasanawayh was therefore placed before the young man, who, with a knife that the sultan gave him, cut his throat. As for Faḍlawayh, he was captured in this same year, and in the next was killed in an attempt to escape from the citadel of Iṣṭakhr.[3]

[1] S.J., f. 99*b*.

[2] M.Kh., 57.

[3] Ath. (B.), x, 26–7, places the campaign against Faḍlawayh in 464 (1071–2), and calls him Faḍlún—possibly confusing him with the Shaddádid of Arrán, against whom, though he does not mention it, Alp Arslán had moved in 460 (1067–8), see S.J., f. 111*b*. But S.J.'s time-table of Alp Arslán's reign is in general far more detailed, and I think, more convincing in passages where they disagree, than Ath.'s.

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Abú 'Alí lived almost another thirty years, for the most part, it appears, "in ease and freedom from care" at Nawbandaján. Whenever he came to court the sultan entertained him honourably, seating him by his side. He was a favourite, indeed, with all the Seljuqids, and enjoyed the privilege of a standard and kettle-drum. He died in 487 (1094).[1]

Abú 'Alí is the last of the sons of Abú Kálíjár of whom, as far as I know, anything is recorded. Three years after his death, however, in 490 (1097), the second son of the Jalál al-Dawlah, Abú Naṣr (ii), distinguished himself by incurring sentence of death for heresy (*ilḥád*). He was obliged to flee for his life, and sought refuge, only to be repulsed, with the Mazyadite Sayf al-Dawlah, after which he wandered from place to place. Abú Naṣr had held al-Madá'in (Ctesiphon) and Dayr al-'Áqúl in fief from Malik-sháh. He also owned two houses in Baghdád, in the *darb al-qubbár* (?). The caliph (al-Mustaẓhir) gave orders after his flight that these houses should each be converted into a mosque, one for the Ḥanafites and one for the Sháfi'ites; and he appointed for each an *imám* and a *mu'adhdhin*. What happened to Abú Naṣr in the end is not known. He may well have been, as the Sibṭ says he was, "the last of the Banú Buwayh to ride a horse."[2]

Postscript.—With regard to note 3 of page 244, I find that Fadlawayh and the Shaddádid Faḍlún of Ganjah are explicitly identified by the author of the *zubdat al-tawáríkh* (B.M. codex, Stowe 7, ff. 24*b*–25*a*). Perhaps this is the source of Ath.'s confusion.

[1] *t.g.*, 433; M.Kh., 57; Kh.A., 120–1.
[2] S.J., f. 230*b*.

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# A Visit to an "Astronomical" Temple in India

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

IN Assam, near Gauhāṭī, on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, there is one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in India, I mean the temple of Kāmākhyā. Kāmākhyā is one of the names for the Indian *devī*, *Kālī*, or *Durgā*; in fact, Kāmākhyā is the *devī* herself in one of her most jolly aspects, as may be gathered from the Paurānic and the Tāntric literature connected with her cult, as for instance the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, the *Yoginī-tantra*, the *Kāmākhyā-tantra*, the *Kāmarūpa-tantra*, etc. The temple and all its neighbourhood for twelve *krośas* is considered one of the *pīṭhas*, or holy and consecrated places: the hills and rivers near it have been identified with some of the most renowned *tīrtha-sthānas* of India, with the purpose of associating with that revered spot some of the most sacred religious traditions of India.[1]

One of the hills is called Citrācala, and on it is a temple dedicated to the nine planets (*grahas*).

"Astronomical" temples are rather rare in India; and therefore during my last visit to the Kāmākhyā hills I tried my utmost to see the Navagraha temple of Gauhāṭī.

The temple must have been built before the definite redaction of the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, which prescribes the Citrācala as one of the places to be visited by pilgrims during their

[1] A description of all the places near the Kāmākhyā temple which are visited by pilgrims can be found in the *Yoginī-tantra* or in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* (ed. in Bengali type, Baṅgabāsī Press, pp. 491 ff.). My friend, Professor Bhūyān, who is in charge of the Assamese Museum founded in Gauhāṭī and is himself an enthusiastic research worker in the field of Assamese history, has found in one of the Buranjīs or Assamese chronicles a list of all the sacred places as recorded in the *Yoginī-tantra*, with their vernacular names and the exact distances from each other. The chapter will, when published, be of the greatest importance for the study of the topography of the Kāmākhyā hills. For other references see the *Kāmākhyā-māhātmya* (in Sanskrit and in Bengali) compiled from various sources by the *pāṇḍās* of the temple (Śivakṛṣṇa Śarmā and Viṣṇukānta Śarmā).

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*yātrā* to *Kāmākhyā*. It is situated on the top of a beautiful hill covered with very thick jungle, and the only person living there is a *pāṇḍā* (temple guide); but a Brahmin priest (*purohita*) sometimes resides there for a few months, and, as I am told, he is a very good astrologer (*jyotishī*) and horoscope maker. It is a pity that when I visited the temple he was out on tour in the Assam valley.

The temple, which is surrounded by a big wall, consists of a small rectangular *pronaos*, where a *liṅga* is worshipped, and of a large circular room, where the nine planets are placed. These are represented by nine cylindrical pieces of black stone, each one of which has been erected on a wide elevated base. This is circular, but with a prominence, in which a small channel, which surrounds the cylinder also, is cut. The central pillar is supposed to represent *Sūrya*, the sun, and around it there are the other eight planets, *Candra* (Moon), *Maṅgala* (Mars), *Rāhu* (the dragon's head, or ascending node)), *Śani* (Saturnus), *Ketu* (the dragon's tail, or descending node), *Bṛhaspati* (Jupiter), *Budha* (Mercurius), *Śukra* (Venus).[1] They are placed according to the following scheme :—

[1] Each one of these planets has many names. The most common are given in the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*, a book on astrology attributed to the famous king Bhoja, but quite different from the work of the same title and ascribed to the same author (Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.*, iii, p. 461) (Veṅkatesv. ed., p. 1) :—

(*a*) sun : Ādityaḥ savitā sūryo bhāskaro 'rko divākaraḥ,
tigmāṃśus tapano bhānuḥ sahasrāṃśuḥ prabhākaraḥ.

(*b*) moon : Śītāṃśuś candramāḥ somo mṛgāṅkas tu niśākaraḥ,
śītaraśmir niśānāthaḥ śaśāṅkaḥ śaśalāñchanaḥ.

(*c*) maṅgala : aṅgārakaḥ kujo bhaumo lohitāṅgo mahīsutaḥ,
āraḥ kṣitisuto vakraḥ krūrākṣaś ca nigadyate.

(*d*) budha : budhaś candrasuto jñeyo vibudho bodhanas tathā,
kumāro rājaputraś ca tārāputras tathaiva ca.

(*e*) bṛhaspati : suramantrī surācāryo gurur jīvo bṛhaspatiḥ,
aṅgiromśaḥ smṛtas tajjñair girīśovacasām patiḥ.

(*f*) śukra : bhṛgujo daityamantrī ca daityādhyakṣaḥ purohitaḥ,
uśanā bhārgavaḥ kāvyaḥ śukro daityagurus tathā.

(*g*) śani : sauriḥ śanaiścaraḥ paṅguḥ koṇaḥ sūryasutas tathā;
mandaḥ śaniś ca mātaṅgī chāyāputro'sitāmbaraḥ.

(*h*) rāhu :- upaplavas tamo rāhuḥ surāriḥ siṃhikāsutaḥ

(*i*) ketu : ketur brahmasuto jñeyo dhūmravarṇaḥ śikhī tathā.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Rāhu* (4) | *Śani* (5) | *Ketu* (6) |
| *Maṅgala* (3) | *Sūrya* (1) | *Bṛhaspati* (7) |
| *Candra* (2) | *Śukra* (9) | *Budha* (8) |

All the cylinders are of the same shape and size, and, so far as I could see in the darkness of that room, there is no inscription anywhere; so that, for their identification, I had to rely completely on what the *pāṇḍā* told me. I was rather surprised when the *pāṇḍā*, who accompanied me, began to make his *praṇāma* and to recite his formulas to the various *grahas*, because he followed an order quite different from that of the real disposition of the various cylinders around *sūrya*. As far I can recollect and after comparing the notes which I took as soon as I went out from the temple, he followed this order :—

*Sūrya*, *Śoma*, *Maṅgala*, *Budha*, *Guru*, *Śukra*, *Śani*, *Rāhu*, *Ketu*, that is to say, the order of the *grahas* (except *Rāhu* and *Ketu*) as presiding divinities of the seven days of the week. This order, which does not always correspond with that given in the astronomical or astrological works, is the same as that which we find in Tāntric ritual, as well as in the Vedic sacrifice of the *graha-yāga*. How then can we explain the difference between the disposition of the planets in the temple and the *praṇālī* or method followed by the priest in his *pūjā*? The reply is to be found in the fact that the temple represents the *maṇḍala*,[1] or sacred circle, the construction of which is subject to certain rules and must

[1] The *vedī* is always an elevated altar: the rules of its construction are rather complicated, as may be gathered from the various rituals connected with it. The *maṇḍala* or sacred enclosure which is designed upon it is quite different from the *yantra* or symbolic image of the various gods; in fact, the *maṇḍala* is a *sādhāraṇāsana*, as every divinity can be adored upon it, while the *yantra* is a *viśeṣāsana*, viz. it is particular to each god. I have dealt very largely with all these points, specially so far as the Paurāṇic and Tāntric rituals are concerned, in my forthcoming book on the *Durgā-pūjā*.

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follow a special order, which is different from the series of the planets as they appear when the *maṇḍala* has been completed.

The rules for the construction of a *maṇḍala* of the nine planets have been laid down in various works connected with the *graha-yāga*, as, for instance, the *Matsya-purāṇa* (*adhyāya* 93) the *Graha-yāga-tattva* of Raghunandana, etc.[1] These books prescribe that after the building of a *vedī* or square altar, the height of which must be half its length, the *maṇḍala* is to be made upon it. That is to say, the space on the surface of the *vedī* must be divided into nine equal parts: first of all, in the central space (*kṣetra* or *koṣṭha*) the sun is to be designed: he must be red and circular; then in the south-eastern corner (*dakṣiṇa-pūrva-koṇa*) the moon, white, in the shape of a half-moon; in the south (of *sūrya*) *Maṅgala*, red and triangular; in the north-eastern corner *Budha*, yellow and in the shape of a bow; at the north (of *sūrya*) *Bṛhaspati*, yellow and in the shape of a lotus with eight leaves; in the east *Śukra*, square and white; in the west *Śani*, black and in the shape of a snake; in the south-western corner *Rāhu*, black, in the shape of a dolphin; in the north-western corner *Ketu*, in the shape of a sword and smoke-coloured. If we remember that in Tāntric ritual the *pūrva* is always the upper side of a *maṇḍala*, we have the scheme as shown on the next page.

It is evident that the disposition of the planets in the *nava-graha* temple of Gauhāṭī corresponds to the above *maṇḍala*,[2] while the method of the *pūjā* is in full accordance with the usual order of the *grahas* in the various Vedic, Paurāṇic, and Tāntric rituals. This follows the daily rotation of the planets.

I said before that the planets are represented in the temple

[1] Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, 290–303. The *Graha-yāga-tattva* by Raghunandana has recently been critically edited in Bengali type and with a very useful introduction in Bengali by Pandit Satīścandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa in the *Saṃskṛta-sāhitya-pariṣad-grantha-mālā*, No. 10, Calcutta, 1925. Fig. 1 has been reproduced from that book.

[2] The door of the temple must face the *pūrvā* or *prācī dig* of the *maṇḍala* (cf. *Pūjā-prakāśa*, by Mitramiśra, p. 240).

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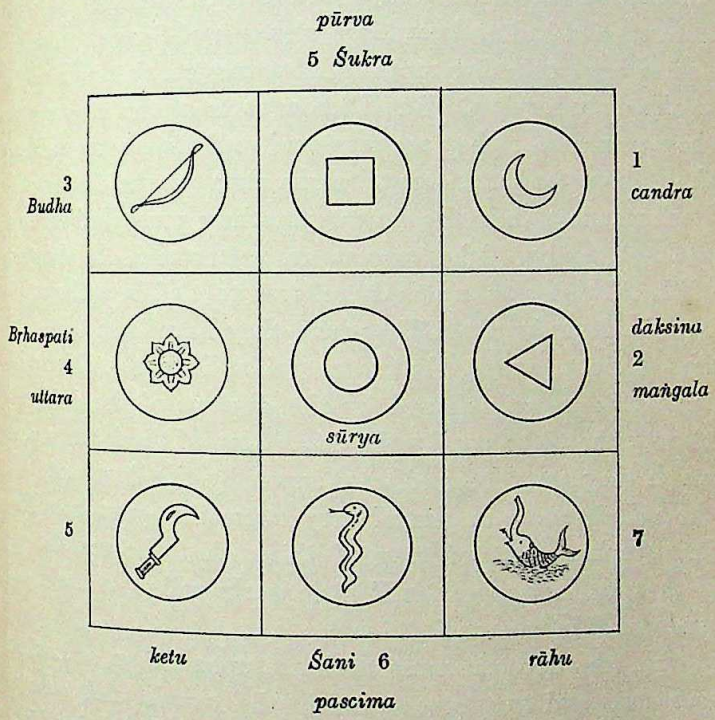
of Gauhāṭī by nine cylinders of stone of the same size and shape; but we are told by various sources that in the *nava-graha-yāga* the nine planets were represented by real images, made of materials varying with the different planets; according to the rules laid down in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (i, 292) the *pratimās* must be made of the following substances: *Sūrya* of copper (*tāmra*), *Candra* of crystal (*sphaṭika*), *Maṅgala* of red sandal, *Budha* and *Bṛhaspati*




of gold, *Śukra* of silver, *Śani* of iron, *Rāhu* of lead (*śīsa*), *Ketu* of lead or brass (*kāṃsya*). But it is evident that, if one's wealth does not allow such costly statues, simple earthen images will do. I must add that according to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (adhyāya 93, v. 15) each *graha* has its own *adhidevatā* and *praty-adhidevatā*, that is to say a presiding and sub-presiding divinity.

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| | *Adhidevatā.* | *Pratyadhidevatā.* |
|---|---|---|
| Sūrya. | Īśvara. | Agni (fire). |
| Candra. | Umā. | Āpaḥ (water). |
| Maṅgala. | Skanda. | Pṛthivī (earth). |
| Budha. | Hari. | Viṣṇu. |
| Bṛhaspati. | Brahmā. | Indra. |
| Śukra. | Indra. | Śacī. |
| Śani. | Yama. | Prajāpati. |
| Rāhu. | Kāla. | Sarpa. |
| Ketu. | Citragupta. | Brahma. |

I did not succeed in grasping the formulas that the *pāṇḍā* who accompanied me recited before each planet; he was illiterate and had no knowledge whatever of Sanscrit, though he had been trained to repeat the few *mantras* that he recited in the daily services. But I know some of the *mantras* to the nine planets; they are preserved in Tāntric texts such as the *Kālī-tantra*, or in *smṛti* works such as the *Tattvas* of Raghunandana (here the *mantras* are those prescribed for the *graha-yāga* only). Other *mantras* are preserved in the chapter of the *Matsya-purāṇa* already referred to, and in anthologies like the *Stava-kavaca-mālā*,[1] where they have been collected from various sources, Tāntric as well as Paurāṇic. Many of these *mantras* are followed by the *dhyānas* of the different planets, that is to say, by the description of the forms under which they must be meditated upon by the devotees. As these *dhyānas* are in general very interesting even from the iconographic point of view, I think that the translation of them as they appear in Tāntric works will prove useful to students of Indian religion.

"He (the devotee) must meditate upon *Sūrya* as having four arms and two lotuses and in the *varada* and *abhaya mudrā*[2]; upon the moon as with the hands in the *dāna*

[1] There are many editions of the *Stava-kavaca-mālā*. One of the most popular in Bengal is that collected by Kālīprasanna Vidyāratna, where *stotras*, *dhyānas*, and *mantras* to the various *grahas* may be found in the third khaṇḍa. Other anthologies, such as the *Stotra-ratna-mālā* (Veṅkatesvara ed.) and *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* (id.), must also be mentioned here.

[2] The *abhaya-mudrā* consists in stretching the arm in front of oneself in an almost horizontal direction so that the top of the hand is as high as the head. The thumb is bent upon the palm; the palm of the hand

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*mudrā* and holding the ambrosia; upon *Maṅgala* as a little hunchback and with a stick in his hands. He must meditate upon the son of Soma (*Budha*) as a young boy with his curled hair moving on his forehead; upon the guru (of the gods, *Bṛhaspati*) with the sacrificial thread, a book, and the rosary (*akṣa-mālā*); upon the guru of the demons (*Śukra*) as blind; upon *Śani* as lame, and upon *Rāhu* and *Ketu* as having deformed bodies and heads and being in terrific posture. The sun must be meditated upon as having a red body, the moon as white, *Maṅgala* as tawny, *Budha* as yellowish-white, *Śukra* as yellow, *Śani* as black, *Rāhu* and *Ketu* as of various colours. These are the colours of the planets" (*Kālī-tantra*, ed. by Kāliprasanna Vidyāratna. Another *Kālī-tantra* is edited in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣaṭ, 18th Ullāsa).

A more detailed *dhyāna* of the planets, with the exception only of the sun and the moon, can be found in the chapter of the *Kālikā-purāṇa* already referred to :—

"*Maṅgala* wears a red garment; he holds the pike (*śūla*), arrows, and a club. He has four arms; his car is drawn by goats. He is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

"*Budha* wears a yellow garment and holds the pike; he is adorned with a yellow garland and (anointed) with yellow anointment. He holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and a club. He stands on a lion, and is in the *varada-mudrā*.

"*Bṛhaspati* is fair as gold, wears a yellow garment, and stands on a golden bench. He holds in his left hand the *akṣa-mālā*, the pot used by ascetics (*kamaṇḍalu*), and the stick. He is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. He must be meditated upon as having four arms and possessed of omniscience.

"*Śukra* must be meditated upon as continually adored by the gods, as having a beautiful aspect, wearing a white garment, of white complexion, sitting on the snake *Śaṅkha*,

looks towards the earth. *Varada-mudrā* or simply *vara-mudrā*: arm stretched as before, but a little inclined towards the earth; thumb as before, the back of tho hand towards the earth. There are very many *mudrās*: cf. *Pūjā-prakāśa*, p. 123, *Bṛhat-tantra-sāra*, 391.

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with four arms. He holds in the right hand the *akṣa-mālā* and the noose; the left hand is in the *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*.

"*Śani* is blue, like sapphire: he holds the pike and is in the attitude of the *abhaya-mudrā*; his vehicle is a vulture. His weapons are the noose and the bow.

"*Rāhu* is on one side in the attitude of the *abhaya* and the *varada mudrās*, but on the other side he holds the sword and the shield; he sits on a lion, and is of black colour.

"*Ketu* is smoke-coloured with wide eyes, a tail, and four arms. He sits on a corpse and holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and arrows."

According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (adhyāya 94) the *dhyāna* of the *nava-grahas* is somewhat different:—

"*Sūrya*: His car is drawn by seven horses; he sits on a lotus, and holds a lotus in each hand. His colour is like that of the central part of a lotus. He has two arms.

*Candra*: White horses, white car, and white garment. Two arms; in one the club, and the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

*Maṅgala*: Red garland, red garment. Four arms; three hands, holding arrows, a pike, and a club; one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

*Budha*: Yellow garland and garment; colour like that of the *karṇikāra* flower; four arms, three holding sword, shield, and club, the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. Standing on the back of a lion.

*Bṛhaspati*: Yellow colour, four arms, one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding the stick, the *akṣa-mālā*, and the *kamaṇḍalu*.

*Śukra*: Like *Bṛhaspati*, but of white colour.

*Śani*: On a vulture, four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a pike, arrows, and a bow. Colour like sapphire.

*Rāhu*: On a lion; of blue colour. Four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a sword, a shield, and a pike. Terrific aspect.

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*Ketu*: Smoke-coloured; two arms; one hand in the *varada-mudrā*, the other holding a club. Deformed aspect."

In the *Graha-yāga-tattva* of Raghunandana other small differences may be met with. According to the *dhyānas* quoted in this book the moon sits on a white lotus. His horses are ten in number. The vehicle of *Maṅgala* is a goat. He has four arms; in the upper right hand he holds arrows, the lower is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude; in the upper left hand he holds the club; the lower is in the *abhaya-mudrā* attitude. *Bṛhaspati* sits on a lotus. *Śukra*, id. *Śani*, black colour, black garment. *Rāhu*, id.

Other *dhyānas* can be found in some recent compilations (*nibandha*), as, for instance, the *Dhyāna-kalpa-druma* (by Gurunāth Vidyānidhi), or the *Purohita-darpaṇa*, by Sureścandra Mohan Bhaṭṭācārya, 20th ed., p. 127), which are generally followed by the priests and believers in Bengal.

*Sūrya*: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *kṣatriya* caste, and to the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, red, as born in the *Kaliṅga* country, holding a lotus in each hand. He looks towards the east; his car is drawn by seven horses. The measure of his body is of twelve fingers (*aṅguli*). His presiding god is *Śiva*, his sub-presiding god *Agni*.

*Candra*: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *vaiśya* caste and to the *Ātreya-gotra*, as born from the ocean, wearing a white garment, with one hand in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*, the other holding the club. His car is drawn by ten horses; he sits on a white lotus; his presiding *devatā* is *Umā*, the sub-presiding *devatā* the water. His face looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of one hand (*hasta*).

*Maṅgala*: He must be meditated upon as belonging to the *kṣatriya* caste and to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, as born in the *Avantī* country, red, supported on a goat, wearing a red garment and a red garland, with four arms; he holds in the upper right hand an arrow and with the lower left arm a club: the

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lower right arm is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude, and the upper left arm is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. He is the son of the earth, his presiding divinity is *Skanda*, his sub-presiding divinity is the earth. He looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of four fingers.

*Budha*: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *vaiśya* caste. as born in the *Magadha* country, red, wearing a red garment, looking towards the sun; his vehicle is a lion, and he is born from the moon. He has four arms, holding in the upper left hand a shield, in the lower left hand a club, in the lower right hand a sword; the upper right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*. Measure of his body, two fingers. His presiding divinity is *Nārāyaṇa*, his sub-presiding divinity is *Viṣṇu*.

*Bṛhaspati*: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the *Āṅgirasa-gotra*, as born in the *Sindhu* country, yellow, wearing a yellow garment. He has four arms and sits on a lotus. He holds the *rudrākṣa-mālā* the stick, the *kamaṇḍalu*. The lower right arm is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. He looks towards the sun. His presiding divinity is *Brahmā*, the sub-presiding divinity *Indra*.

*Śukra*: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the *Bhārgava-gotra*, as born in the *Bhojakaṭa* country. He stands on a lotus, looks towards the sun, is white and wears a yellow garment. He has four arms, in which he holds the *akṣa-mālā*, the *kamaṇḍalu*, and the stick. One hand is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. Measure of his body, nine fingers. His presiding divinity is *Śakra*, and the sub-presiding divinity is *Śacī*.

*Śani*: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Surāṣṭra* country, as belonging to the *Śūdra* caste, and to the *Kāśyapa-gotra*; black, wearing a black garment. His vehicle is a vulture. He is born from the sun. He has four arms and holds bow and arrows. His presiding divinity is *Yama*, and the sub-presiding divinity is *Prajāpati*.

*Rāhu*: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Malaya*

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country, as belonging to the *Taiṭhina-gotra*, and to the *Śūdra* caste. His vehicle is a lion; he is black, and wears a black garment. He has four arms, in which he holds a sword, a pike, and a shield; one arm is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. He looks towards the sun; his presiding divinity is *Kāla*, the sub-presiding divinity is a snake. Measure of his body, twelve fingers.

*Ketu*: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Kuśa-dvīpa*, belonging to the *Śūdra* caste, and the *Jaiminīya-gotra*, smoke-coloured. He wears a garment smoke-coloured, and looks towards the sun: his vehicle is a vulture, and he has a deformed aspect. He holds a club; one hand is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. His presiding divinity is *Citragupta*, and his sub-presiding divinity is *Brahmā*. Measure of his body, six fingers.

According to the *Kālī-tantra* the special *mantras* or mystical formulas for the various planets are the following[1]:—

*Sūrya*: *praṇava māyābīja ṭigmaraśmine ārogyadāya vahnivallabhā*, that is to say: *Oṃ hrīṃ tigmaraśmine ārogyadāya svāhā*. "*Oṃ hrīṃ* unto the sun whose rays are pungent and who bestows health."

*Soma*: *kāmabīja māyā vāṇībīja amṛta karāmṛta plāvaya*, twice: *vahni-priyā*; *klīṃ hrīṃ aiṃ amṛta-karāmṛtaṃ plāvaya plāvaya svāhā*. "*Klīṃ hrīṃ aiṃ*; let the ambrosia of the moon overflow."

*Maṅgala*: *vāṇī gagana repha ā bindu māyā sarvaduṣṭān nāśaya*, twice, *vahnipriyā*: *aiṃ, hraṃ, hrīṃ sarvaduṣṭān nāśaya nāśaya svāhā*. "*Aiṃ hrāṃ hrīṃ* destroy, destroy all the wicked."

*Budha*: *māyā lakṣmī saumya · sarvān kāmān pūraya vahnipriyā*: *hrīṃ śrīṃ*, etc. "*Hrīṃ śrīṃ*; O gentle one, fulfil all (my) desires."

*Bṛhaspati*: *tārā vāṇī suraguro abhīṣṭaṃ yaccha yaccha*

[1] In order to give an idea of this kind of literature I reproduce the *mantras* as they appear in their esoteric language, adding, however, a translation of those passages which convey some meaning.



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*agnivallabhā*: *oṃ aiṃ*, etc. "*Oṃ aiṃ*; O guru of the gods, bestow upon me what I desire."

*Śukra*: six *ś* with long vowels: *śāṃ śīṃ śūṃ śaiṃ śauṃ śa.*

*Śani*: *gagana repha* with four long vowels, *sarvaśatrūn vidrāvaya* twice: *mārtaṇḍasūnave namaḥ. hrāṃ hrīṃ hrūṃ hrauṃ*, etc. "*Hrāuṃ*, etc., dispel all enemies; *namas* unto the son of the sun."

*Rāhu*: *ra ā bindu hrauṃ bhrauṃ soma śatro śatrūn vidhvaṃsaya*, twice *rāhu* in the dative case, *namaḥ*: *rāṃ*, etc., *rāhave namaḥ*. "*Rāṃ*, etc., O enemy of the moon, destroy the enemies; *namas* unto *Rāhu*."

*Ketu*: *krūṃ hrūṃ ketave namaḥ*. "*Krūm*, etc., *namas* unto *Ketu*."

For other formulas used in the worship of the *nava-grahas*, which is very common in every Tāntric *pūjā*, cf. *Bṛhat-tantra-sāra*, by Kṛṣṇānanda, 2nd Pariccheda.

I do not need to quote here the *mantras* used in the *Graha-yāga*; they can be found in *smṛti* works like the manual of Raghunandana already referred to. Moreover, these *mantras* are taken in their totality from the Vedic literature.

ADDENDUM.—When I wrote this article the volume of C. R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, N. 18), was known to me only by name. Recently I saw it and found that it deals also with the inonography of the *Nava-grahas*. It should therefore be referred to in my article. To the sources concerning the *Nava-grahas* we may add *Agni-purāṇa* (A.S.S.), p. 62, *Bhaviṣyā-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press), p. 503, *Nāradīya-purāṇa* (ibid.), p. 122, *Viṣṇudharmottara* (ibid.), p. 62, *Meru tantra* (ibid.), p. 492.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

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# Akbar II as Pretender : A Study in Anarchy [1]

By R. B. WHITEHEAD

(PLATE VI)

AKBAR SHĀH, son of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, was elevated to the throne of Delhi as pretender eighteen years previous to his accession as Akbar II, and money was struck in his name. The addition of another claimant to the dynastic list was communicated in a joint paper by Mr. S. H. Hodivala and myself, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1922, and to which I invite reference. I had found a copper coin of Aḥmadābād mint bearing the name of Akbar Shāh and date A.H. 1203, which made me conjecture whether Ghulām Qādir Khān, the "unspeakable Rohilla", raised another prince to the Mughal throne after the puppet Bedār Bakht (A.H. 1202–3), who might or might not be identical with the Akbar Shāh, eldest surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam II, who succeeded his father in the regular way as Akbar II in the year A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806).[2] I put the matter to Mr. Hodivala, a leading authority on Mughal history, and his reply was that "it has not yet been possible to find an absolutely complete and satisfactory solution of the problem connected with the Akbar Shāh coins of A.H. 1203, but there would seem to be fairly good grounds for answering the question in the affirmative". The fullest account of the transactions which led to the deposition and blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II is in the *'Ibratnāmah* (Book of Warning) of Faqīr Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad, but this work closes soon after recounting the terrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and his family by the infamous Ghulām Qādir, whose atrocities the author describes

[1] Read at the Oriental Congress, Oxford, on 31st August, 1928.

[2] Bedār Bakht, "of wakeful fortune." He was a son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur, and grandson of Muḥammad Shāh.

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at length.[1] Mr. Hodivala's search through other contemporary histories was infructuous, but he discovered a clue to the solution of the puzzle in Seton-Karr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes.

Since the appearance of the above paper I have discovered more material, both documentary and numismatic, and I propose to make a connected story of it all.

GHULĀM QĀDIR KHĀN.—His grandfather Najību-d-daulah, a Rohilla chief, was Paymaster General, then Chief of the Nobility in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II. The town of Sahāranpūr and surrounding districts were bestowed on the Rohilla; this fief included Meerut and the fort of Ghausgarh. Najibu-d-daulah was succeeded in 1770 by his son Ẓābitah Khān, and the latter by Ghulām Qādir Khān in A.D. 1785.

AKBAR SHĀH.—Akbar Shāh, the eldest surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam, became heir-apparent after the death in June, 1788, of Prince Jahāndār Shāh, Jawān Bakht.

This contribution is concerned with a lurid episode in the decay of the Mughal Empire. It was the year A.D. 1788 (A.H. 1202–3). Shāh 'Ālam II had been on the throne for nearly thirty years. The house of Taimūr had long ceased to exercise any effective rule outside the walls of the palace-fort at Delhi, and the emperor was merely a figure-head under the control of the latest upstart power. A popular rhyme current at the time of a former 'Ālam Shāh of Delhi was equally true of his namesake three hundred years later.[2]

*Bādshāh i 'Ālam*
*Az Dihli tā Pālam.*

The emperor of the world,
(Whose dominion extends) from Dihli to Pālam.[3]

Peace and security had vanished, and the countryside was the prey of contending factions. Shāh 'Ālam, destitute of

[1] See H. G. Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*.

[2] C. J. Rodgers, *Coin Collecting in Northern India*. Allahabad, 1894, p. 116.

[3] Pālam is now a station on the Rajputana–Malwa Railway, about seven miles from Delhi.

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energy, weak of will, and infirm of judgment, "the pageant of every successful party," soon had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated. Not only was the capital helpless to defend itself against threats from outside; there was unceasing party violence within, owing to the unrestrained dissensions and jealousies of the Mughal nobles. The unfortunate emperor called upon Mahratta aid, and Madhava Rao Sindhia, Rajah of Gwalior, took possession of Delhi in January, 1785. Sindhia's resources were amply sufficient to restore law and order, and to enforce respect towards the emperor.

Towards the end of 1785 died Ẓābitah Khān, ruler of Sahāranpūr; he was succeeded in his territories by his eldest son Ghulām Qādir Khān, "a youth proud, cruel, and ferocious. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign" (W.F., pp. 139, 140). The first act of Ghulām Qādir Khān was to appear in open rebellion, and his example was followed by the Rajah of Jaipur. Sindhia lost a pitched battle in the year 1787, and the check was so severe that the Mahratta retired as far as Gwalior, where he awaited reinforcements. A force under Ismail Beg, a leading Mughal noble, started to reduce the fort of Agra which was still in the hands of the Mahrattas.

These events deprived the emperor of his protector, and the stage is now set for the ensuing tragedy. Ghulām Qādir Khān had arrived before Delhi with an armed force, and had fired upon the palace from the opposite bank of the river Jumna. There are lucid accounts in letters written to Warren Hastings in England, where he was undergoing his impeachment, by his friends and correspondents in India.[1] Major William Palmer, British agent with Sindhia, reports to Warren Hastings by a letter dated Sindhia's Camp near Gwalior,

[1] *Warren Hastings Papers*, vol. xl, British Museum Library. I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mr. T. G. P. Spear, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. I have modernized the spelling of personal names.

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30th December, 1787, that Sindhia has no present prospect of retrieving his affairs. "Ghulām Qādir Khān, son of Ẓābitah Khān, is making a rapid progress in the reduction of forts subject to Sindhia in the Doab (region between the Ganges and the Jumna). He commands about two thousand desperate Rohillas and has a good train of artillery. Ghulām Qādir is exceedingly obnoxious to the Shah whom he lately cannonaded in his palace, which the old King will never forgive, although he was forced into an accommodation by the chiefs who dreaded the return of Sindhia to power. The country had a better prospect of repose from the rule of Sindhia than from the chiefs who have dispossessed him."

Major Palmer wrote on the 5th March, 1788. "The situation of the Shah in this scene of distraction is truly deplorable. No person being yet appointed to the conduct of his affairs in the room of Sindhia, nor any of the competitors powerful enough to assume it, no revenue is allotted to his support and he suffers the severest personal distress."

Ghulām Qādir had already made one attempt on Delhi where he arrived with a small but efficient force in the autumn of the year 1787. With the connivance of Manṣūr 'Ālī Khān, the imperial Nazir (Comptroller of the Household), he entered the palace and petitioned the emperor for the vacant office of Amīru-l-Umrā. But on this occasion he was foiled by the arrival of the Begum Somroo's disciplined troops, and had to retire to Sahāranpūr (W.F., pp. 148f.) Subsequently Shāh 'Ālam displayed some show of energy, and occupied the early months of the year 1788 in reducing turbulent chiefs in the neighbourhood of Delhi. There was a successful action against the fort of Gokulgarh in which the Begum Somroo behaved with great gallantry, and was rewarded with the title of the emperor's "most beloved daughter"[1] (W.F., p. 169). Shāh 'Ālam then returned to his capital.

[1] The title فرزندِ عزیزہ figures on the Begum's seal. Gokulgarh is near Rewari, now in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab; coins were struck there in the name of Shāh 'Ālam.

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Meanwhile Ghulām Qādir had been playing fast and loose with his associate Ismail Beg, and the latter had sustained a severe defeat by the advancing Mahrattas under the walls of Agra. The Mahrattas could have taken immediate possession of Delhi, but Sindhia tarried at Muttra, and the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam was left exposed to the treachery of his servants and to dethronement, plunder, and loss of sight. Ghulām Qādir had joined forces with Ismail Beg, the two had occupied Delhi, entered the palace-fort, and seized the persons of the emperor and the royal household. These events happened in July, A.D. 1788.

Ghulām Qādir's object was to extort all he could in the time at his disposal from the citizens of Delhi in general, and in particular to force the emperor to disclose the whereabouts of the hidden treasure which was said to exist in various parts of the palace. His occupation lasted ten weeks; it was a large-scale dacoity of a prolonged and horrid nature. What Ghulām Qādir's contemporaries found unpardonable was the fact that he did not even respect the honour of the Haram. I propose to avail myself of three parallel narratives: Jonathan Scott's account published only six years after the event, the authoritative announcements in the *Calcutta Gazette*, and letters written at the time to Warren Hastings.

The *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday, 21st August, 1788, announces "Revolution at Delhee. On the 2nd instant, Ghoolam Cadir Khan and Ismail Beg Khan deposed the King Shah Aalum, and placed on the throne of Hindostan Beidar Bukht, son of Ahmud Shah, and grandson of Mohummud Shah. The circumstances of this revolution extracted from the authentic Delhee papers are as follows". In brief, the confederates having extorted mandates from the king, and desiring the neighbouring chiefs to join them and a prince of the blood Sulaimān Shikoh [1] for the expulsion of Sindhia, confined every person in the metropolis suspected of possessing wealth. Great alarm was excited, and the

[1] "As magnificent as Solomon."

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king summoned Ghulām Qādir to the presence. The latter represented the great want of money for the troops, and concluded a long parley by the ultimatum that if His Majesty desired peace, he must pay ten lakhs of rupees, otherwise Ghulām Qādir would take what he could. The king replied that had he possessed any money, he would not have been reduced to his deplorable position. Thereupon the confederates summoned a young prince from the seraglio named Bedār Bakht and made him king. The deposed emperor, with Akbar Shah, the eldest prince, and seventeen other princes, were sent to a place called the Asad Burj (Lion Tower)[1]; the conduct of Ghulām Qādir was most insulting to the king and his family. According to a journal of the "monstrous transactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir" quoted at length by Jonathan Scott, the deposition took place on the 26th July (J.S., pp. 285 f.). The utmost menaces were employed to force Shāh 'Ālam to produce money and jewels. Private apartments were searched, floors dug up and ceilings pulled down, ladies stripped and whipped; the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. On 10th August, Shāh 'Ālam was blinded (J.S., p. 293). "The mode in which they deprived the king of his eyes appears to have been peculiarly cruel. The instrument used was a short sharp-pointed dagger, the use of which must have made this horrid act of barbarity agonizing to the last degree. The old man is, however, said to have survived the torture and to be alive, although he refuses assistance, and it is thought he cannot live long"[2] (C.G., 4th September).

By the middle of August the Mahrattas were outside the city walls. On 26th August, Bedār Shāh requested Ghulām

[1] To prevent rebellions, all scions of the royal family, male and female, passed their lives in confinement within the precincts of the palace-fort.

[2] The philosophic side of Shāh 'Ālam's nature came to his aid. Contemptible as an autocrat, he could yet endure with fortitude and survive a great physical calamity. W. Francklin gives the translation of a lament said to have been written by the king after the loss of his sight (W.F., pp. 180, 250).

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Qādir to dethrone him as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the most common necessaries of life. By this time the confederates had quarrelled over the division of the booty; Ismail Beg withdrew and made overtures to the Mahrattas. Ghulām Qādir's affairs had grown desperate and he prepared to evacuate the palace. Early in October he crossed to the east bank of the Jumna, taking with him the titular emperor Bedār Shāh, Akbar Shāh, and other sons of Shāh 'Ālam, together with two aged Begums. A detachment of Mahrattas took possession of the city and palace, and Shāh 'Ālam was released from his confinement. "New coins were ordered to be struck in the name of Shah Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wished to decline the throne in favour of Akbar Shah, whom he had always intended for his successor" (J.S., p. 304).

"Gholaum Kaudir a few days after his departure from Dhely, disgusted at some behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mahrattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made sovereign, and acknowledged as emperor Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his son that on hearing of his exaltation he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous Nazir, assuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had sustained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his son on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mahratta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refused, saying that he could not do so while the prince was in fact only a prisoner in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan" (J.S., p. 304). This evidence that Akbar Shāh was enthroned by the execrable king-maker in succession to Bedār Shāh is corroborated by the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 30th October. According to this issue "the latest papers received, dated 17th October, mention that Golaum Cadir had in his camp proclaimed King Meerza Akber Shah, the favourite son of Shah Aalum, and that the latter was highly pleased with this intelligence". Further proof is contained

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in a letter from John Hollond, Madras, to Warren Hastings, dated the 31st January, 1789 (Hastings, p. 269). "You will no doubt be informed by some of your correspondents in Bengal of the Revolutions that have lately taken place at Delhi, Ghulam Cawdir's seizing the Person of the King, his depriving him of sight and setting his son Mirza Akbar on the throne will most probably be particularly detailed to you and with more minuteness than it would be possible for me to attempt. By the latest advices received from that quarter we are informed that Scindia after suffering great reverses of fortune had recovered his former Power, that he was in possession of Delhi, and had replaced the old King upon the throne. That celebrated capital of the Empire seems to have been doomed to be a scene of perpetual convulsion, anarchy and distress."

Jonathan Scott, author of the *History of the Dekkan* from which I have already quoted, writes to Warren Hastings from Netley on the 20th May, 1789 (Hastings, p. 414). "I have a dreadful account of the unfortunate fate of Shaw Aulum and his family. The poor old thing had his eyes put out, wanted common necessaries, and was often beaten by the abominable Golaum Kadir, who made the young Princes sing for his amusement. Upon the approach of the Mahrattas, Golaum Kadir evacuated Dhely, carrying with him nineteen of Shaw Aulum's Sons and the poor aged Empress Mallekeh Zummaneh [1] to his Camp threatening to murder them, but some days after, having a quarrel with his King Bedar Shaw, who had displeased him by going into the Bazar to fly a Kite, he deposed him and proclaimed Akber Shaw the favourite son of Shaw Aulum. . . . Perhaps you may have these and later accounts. If you have, I shall esteem it a great favour if you will let my Brother send them me, as I wish to make use of them in my history."

I will now finish with Ghulām Qādir. He was pressed back

[1] Widow of Muḥammad Shāh.

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by the Mahrattas and their allies to Meerut, where he stood a siege; he had great fighting capabilities. The *Calcutta Gazette* for 4th December, 1788, observes: "Nothing particular has of late transpired at Delhi; the last accounts from that quarter announce the continuance of Golaum Kadir Cawn accompanied by his new elected King Mirza Akbar Shaw, his late King Bedar Shaw, and several other Princes at a place called Meerut, about four days march from his Capital Saharunpoor. His army experiences every distress from the scarcity kept up by the Mahratta army who cut off all his supplies and have hitherto prevented him from proceeding into Ghousghur." On 1st January, 1789, is this item of news: "We understand Golaum Cadir Kawn has at length met a fate which will probably lead to a due return for his cruelties. On the 18th ultimo (December) the Fort of Meerat was stormed by the Mahratta chiefs, and Golaum Cadir fled with three hundred horse. He was probably taken. The Princes were all found safe in the Fort of Meerat." According to Scott (J.S., p. 304) the assault took place on 21st December, 1788. Ghulām Qādir escaped, but his horse fell under him and he was brought in a prisoner to the Mahratta camp; there he was placed in an iron cage, his nose, ears, hands and feet were cut off, and in this mutilated condition he was sent to Delhi, but died on the road. His accomplice, the treacherous Nazir, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant (W.F., p. 184). The princes were escorted back to the capital, where they returned to their former confinement.

Akbar's short-lived assumption of imperial honours was known to certain well-informed people—John Hollond had heard of it in distant Madras, Jonathan Scott knew about it, the *Calcutta Gazette* had it—but apparently it has yet to be discovered in indigenous chronicles. William Francklin was familiar with Delhi, and had an audience of His Majesty Shāh 'Ālam and Mirza Akbar Shāh on 11th March, 1794 (W.F., p. 211), yet his otherwise fully informed and lucid narrative,

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published only ten years after it, fails to mention this event.[1] Why did Ghulām Qādir choose Bedār Bakht?[2] We are told that the favourite amusement of this poor puppet king was to fly kites in the streets of the metropolis. Ghulām Qādir wanted a pliant tool, but he was soon dissatisfied with his titular's stupidity and childishness, and the idea of replacing Bedār Shāh by Akbar Shāh soon occurred to him. On 7th August, Ghulām Qādir told Shāh 'Ālam that "he was sorry for his treasons, but would make amends by seating his son Meerza Akber on the throne" (J.S., p. 292). What is the approximate duration of the reign of each pretender? According to the journal quoted by Scott, Bedār Bakht was raised to the throne on 26th July; Keene says 29th July; the *Calcutta Gazette*, 2nd August. His coins are of the first regnal year, and of Hijrī years 1202 and 1203. The first day of Muḥarram (New Year's Day), A.H. 1203, corresponded with 2nd October, 1788. Jonathan Scott does not give the exact day of Ghulām Qādir's final departure from Delhi with the princes (J.S., p. 303), but Keene says 11th October. The unique rupee of Akbar Shāh as pretender struck at Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) mint is dated A.H. 1202; the other known coins 1203. The Shāhjahānābād rupee appears to have been issued before Ghulām Qādir abandoned Delhi, yet we are told that Akbar was made king in Ghulām Qādir's camp after leaving the capital. Of course, the rupee may have been coined in intelligent anticipation of the event. It is safe to say that Bedār Bakht's deposition and Akbar Shāh's accession took place in the first fortnight of October, 1788. The latest date for the conclusion of Akbar Shāh's pretendership is that on which the Mahrattas stormed Meerut, 18th or 21st December, 1788.

[1] The List of Authorities includes three indigenous chronicles of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

[2] What share chance played in the choice of a prince under similar circumstances is dramatically told by W. Irvine with regard to the accession of Rafī'u-d-darjāt, a consumptive youth of twenty, who succeeded Farrukhsiyar ("The Later Mughals," *J.A.S.B.*, 1904).

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## The Coins of Bedār Bakht

In Francklin's history of Shāh 'Ālam we read that "Bedar Shah was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun under the title of Jehaun Shah" (W.F., p. 176). The diary used by Jonathan Scott records that on 30th July, 1788, "thirty thousand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, besides some plate. The Rohilla sent the latter to the mint and commanded coins to be struck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inscription: The supporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar Shaw, by the grace of God stamped coins throughout the world" (J.S., p. 288). According to the Persian chronicle called Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, the coin couplet of Bedār Bakht was :—

حامی دین نبی بیدار شاه
سکه زد در هند از فضل اله

The supporter of the religion of the Prophet, Bedār Shāh,
By the grace of God stamped coins in Hind.

This is a variant of Scott's couplet. But the distich as found on all existing gold and silver coins of Bedār Bakht is :—

سکه زد بزر وارث تاج وتخت
شاه جهان محمد بیدار بخت

Struck coin on gold, the heir of crown and throne,
Shāh Jahān Muḥammad Bedār Bakht

Bedār Bakht's '*alam* was Muḥammad, and his imperial name Shāh Jahān; this confirms Francklin's statement.

On the reverse side of the gold and silver coins are the usual formula *Sanah aḥad julūs maimanat mānūs ẓarb*, "struck in the first regnal year associated with prosperity," the Hijrī year 1202 or 1203, and the name of the mint which is either Aḥmadābād or the capital Shāhjahānābād, the latter being

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associated with its honorific epithet *Dāru-l-khilāfat*, "seat of the Khalifate." These coins are very scarce, silver being even rarer than gold.

The legends on the unique copper coin, of Aḥmadābād mint, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the rest of Mr. H. Nelson Wright's coins of the later Mughals, are فلوس بیدار شاهی and سنه احدضرب احمداباد with a sword as mint-mark. Perhaps Ghulām Qādir Khān had a partisan in power at the distant capital of Gujarat. The fact remains that not only were coins struck at Aḥmadābād bearing the names of both pretenders, but the local series issued in the name of Shāh 'Ālam under Mahratta and British auspices was interrupted just at this time by money of Shāh 'Ālam of imperial type in all three metals, which is identical in style with the coins of Bedār Bakht. I invite a comparison of the reverse of P.M. Cat. 2858 with the reverse of 3248.

### The Coins of Akbar Shāh as Pretender

The coins of Akbar Shāh as pretender are quite different from those struck by him as emperor (P.M. Cat., Nos. 3250 f.). The unassigned silver coin P.M. Cat. 3277, of date A.H. 1203, which bears the name Akbar Shāh, can now be assigned with certainty to the reign of Akbar Shāh as pretender. I found a duplicate of it in the Jullundur City bazar in 1920, which shows that the mint is Sahāranpūr, Ghulām Qādir's capital,[1] with its honorific epithet *Dāru-s-surūr*, "abode of pleasure." The coin couplet is :—

زد سکه درجهان به فضل اله

حامی دین محمد اکبر شاه

Struck coin in the world by the grace of God,
The supporter of the religion of Muḥammad, Akbar Shāh.

[1] There is an allusion to "Seharunpore, the capital of the late Gholaum Cadir Khan" on p. 46 of W. Francklin's *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, Calcutta, 1803.

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This couplet is a slight variant of that said by the author of the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* to have been stamped on the coins of Akbar II (C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 32).

In my paper "Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India", part ii, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, I published a newly discovered and unique couplet rupee of Shāhjahānābād mint, bearing date 1202.

Copper coins of Akbar Shāh as pretender were struck at Sahāranpūr, Shāhjahānābād, and Aḥmadābād mints—see the contribution just mentioned. Both silver and copper issues of Sahāranpūr mint bear the mark ل on the reverse side. There are thus five known issues of Akbar Shāh as pretender, and apart from the coin in the Punjab Museum, each issue is represented by a single specimen. All five were in my collection and went with it to the British Museum in April, 1922.

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## EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI

FIG. LIST OF COINS

1.—Rupee of Akbar Shāh struck at *Dāru-l-khilāfta* Shāhjahānābād in A.H. 1202, first regnal year.
2.—*Fulūs* of Akbar Shāh struck at Shāhjahānābād in A.H. 1203, first regnal year.
3.—Rupee of Akbar Shāh struck at *Dāru-s-surūr* Sahāranpūr in A.H. 1203, first regnal year. Mint mark ب.

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4.—*Fulūs* of Akbar Shāh struck at *Dāru-s-surūr* Sahāranpūr in the first regnal year; Hijrī date off the coin. Mint mark ۵.

5.—*Fulūs* of Akbar Shāh struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1203, first regnal year. Mint mark a sword.

6.—Rupee of Bedār Bakht struck at *Dāru-l-khilāfat* Shāhjahānābād in A.H. 1202, first regnal year.

7.—Gold coin of Bedār Bakht struck at Aḥmadābād in the first regnal year; Hijrī date off the coin. Mint mark a sword.

8.—Rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II, imperial style, struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1202, regnal year 29. Mint mark a sword.

9.—*Fulūs* of Shāh 'Ālam II, imperial style, struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1202, regnal year 29. Mint mark a sword.

All the above coins are in the British Museum; a duplicate of 3 is P.M. Cat. 3277. Issue 8 in gold is P.M. Cat. 2858. The legends on the reverses of P.M. Cat. 2858, and of 7 and 8 above are similar in type and style.

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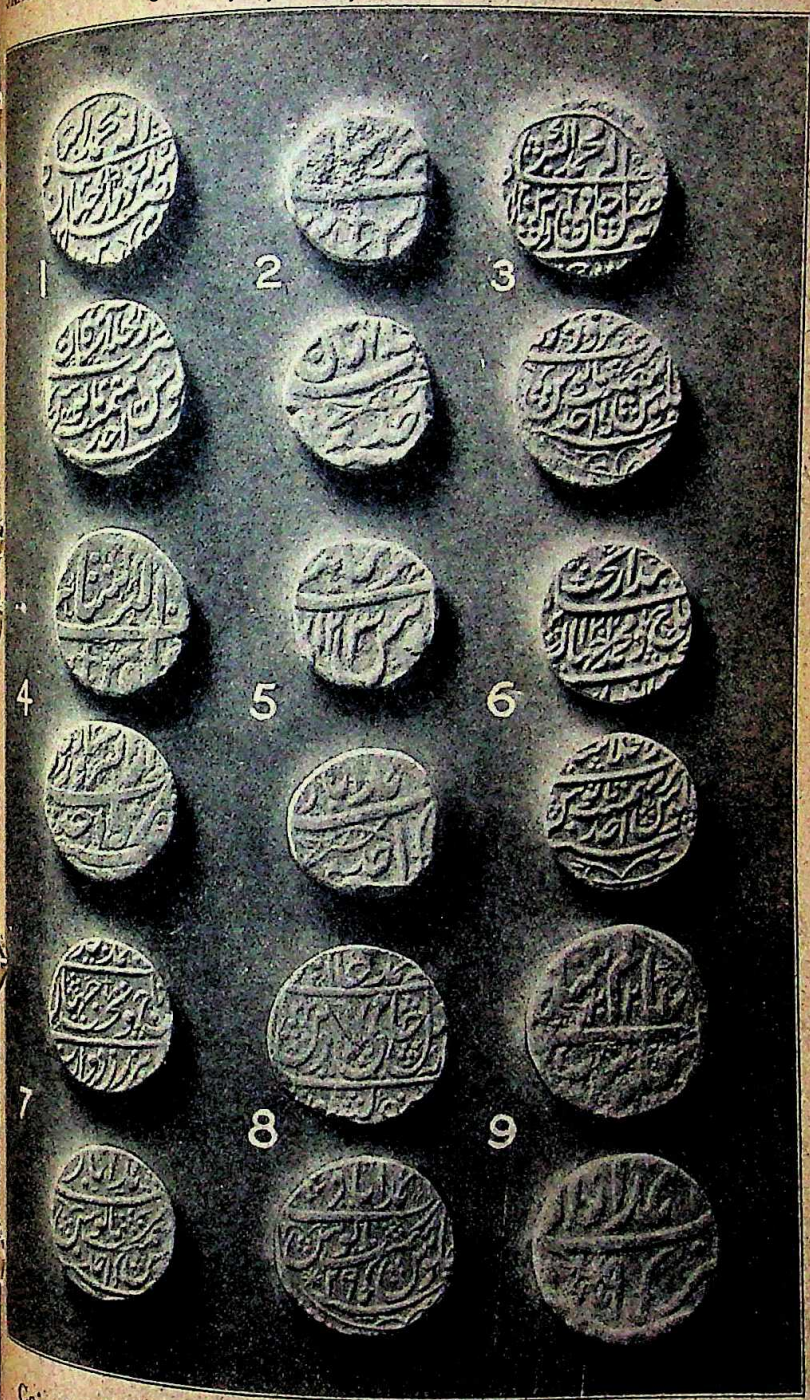


Coins of Akbar Shāh as Pretender, and of Bedār Bakht.

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[To face p. 272.

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# Hippokoura et Satakarni

By J. PRZYLUSKI

QUAND on cherche à décomposer les noms des villes indiennes énumérées dans les Tables de Ptolémée, on constate que plusieurs d'entre eux sont formés d'un nom grec et d'un mot indien signifiant "ville".[1] Hippokoura (Ptolémée, vii, 1, 83) est un bon exemple de ce type de composés. Ce nom, formé du grec *hippos* "cheval" et de l'indien *kura* "ville", signifie "ville du cheval". Mais de quel cheval s'agit-il ? Et pourquoi servait-il à désigner la cité ?

* * * * *

Les rois Andhras portent souvent un nom : *Satakani* en prâkrit des monnaies, sanskritisé en Śātakarṇi. On veut y voir le nom d'une seule dynastie, mais cette opinion est douteuse, car on trouve des Śātakarṇi pendant une durée de cinq siècles et il est peu probable qu'une même famille se soit maintenue au pouvoir pendant une période si longue et si troublée de l'histoire indienne.

Dans la littérature sanskrite, Śātakarṇi alterne avec Śātavāhana et Śālivāhana et on trouve dans les inscriptions : Sātakani, Sadakani, Sāda°, Sati°. Aucune étymologie satisfaisante n'a été donnée de ces formes et une explication, pour être valable, n'en devra négliger aucune.

"On est tenté, dit M. Barnett,[2] de rapprocher (les Satakani) des Sātiyaputa (Aśoka, Inscription II), des Setae que Pline décrit aussitôt après les Andhras et de la tribu des Śātaka ou Sātaka." Cette remarque indique la voie que nous allons suivre.

Si l'on pose *Sātiyaputa* = *Satakani*, il reste, après avoir retranché Sata et son dérivé Sātiya, l'équivalence *puta* =

[1] Cf. *Bul. Soc. Ling.*, xx, p. 218 et suiv.
[2] *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 599.



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*kani*. Il faut donc examiner si *kani* peut être un mot andhra ayant le même sens que *puta* " fils " en moyen-indien.

En munda, on a *kon* " fils " et cette racine est commune à un grand nombre de langues austroasiatiques.[1] La voyelle *o* de *kon* est très ouverte et voisine de *a*. *Kani* paraît bien être la notation d'un ancien mot austroasiatique réduit à *kon* dans la plupart des langues modernes. Un *i* final se rencontre encore en juāng où *koni* a le sens de " fils ". *Satakani* signifie sans doute " fils de Sata " et Śātakarṇi est une sanskritisation de ce nom tribal qui peut avoir été porté par plusieurs dynasties.

Les langues mundas ont en outre *han* et *hapan* " fils ". Le premier provient de **kan* par amuissement de l'initiale [2] et le second est analogue au premier avec, en outre, un infixe *pa*. Cet infixe est utilisé en munda pour former des noms collectifs et le P. Schmidt a montré [3] que les infixes sont parfois d'anciens préfixes introduits dans le corps du mot. Il est donc possible que *hapan* < **pahan*. Si l'on pose un mot andhra tel que **Satapahana* on conçoit aisément qu'il ait été sanskritisé sous la forme Śātavāhana.

Enfin la forme munda sans infixe *han* " fils ", aurait pu donner *Sātahana. Un nom analogue est précisément attesté par Hemacandra [4] qui cite le patronymique Śālāhaṇa, lequel se relie à Sātahana comme Sālivāhana à Sātavāhana. Les équivalents mundas de Sātiyaputa sont donc susceptibles d'expliquer non seulement le Sātakani des inscriptions, mais, en outre, une série de formes plus ou moins sanskritisées : Śātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, Śālāhaṇa.

Puisque, dans Śātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, etc., le second élément se ramène à un original munda, il reste à examiner si le premier terme peut s'expliquer de la même manière.

[1] *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 396.

[2] Cf. "Un ancien peuple du Penjab, les Udumbara," *Journ. As.*, 1926, i, p. 26.

[3] *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, p. 708.

[4] Hemacandra, *Deśīnāmamālā*, et cf. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 26.

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On trouve dans les inscriptions *Sāta°* et *Sāda°*. Voici le nom du "cheval" dans un certain nombre de langues mundas :

| | |
|---|---|
| santali | *sadām* |
| mahle | *sādam* |
| mundari | *sādām* |
| birhar | *sādām* |
| dhangar | *sādām* |

*Sātakani* = *Sādakani* pouvait donc signifier "fils du cheval". Il apparaît ici que les résultats de nos analyses se confirment réciproquement. Hippokoura, nom de la capitale des Andhras, signifie "ville du cheval" et le patronymique des rois Andhras peut s'interpréter "fils du cheval". Le même dieu, vénéré sous la forme du cheval, aurait donné son nom à la ville royale et aux princes considérés comme ses descendants. D'autres faits viennent à l'appui de cette interprétation.

Les recherches récentes de M. Dumont sur l'*aśvamedha* ont mis en lumière le rôle procréateur du cheval dans les familles princières. Les rois Andhras, nous le savons, ont célébré le sacrifice du cheval. Or, le rite final de cette cérémonie consacrait une union magique, et partant féconde, entre la première reine et le cheval sacrifié. Les princes issus de cette union pouvaient donc s'appeler "fils du cheval".

Le doublet Sātiyaputa/Śālivāhana est enfin susceptible d'expliquer deux formes qui paraissaient s'exclure dans les manuscrits de Pline. Au VIe livre, § 104, de l'*Histoire Naturelle*, la *lectio vulgata* est Cœlobothras. Mais certains manuscrits, et parmi eux les plus anciens, ont Celebethonas. Sous ce dernier mot, M. Sylvain Lévi a proposé de restituer une forme Çālavādhana ou Çālavāhana. "Une modification très légère et parfaitement autorisée par la paléographie, permet de substituer au groupe <u>th</u> le groupe <u>ch</u> avec lequel il est confondu souvent dans la graphie du Xe siècle ; on arrive ainsi directement de Celebechonas à Çālavāhana, le

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*ch* étant la transcription la plus exacte du *h* indien."[1] Celebechonas est en effet voisin de Çālavāhana. Mais il ne suit nullement que la lecture Cœlobothras soit à rejeter. °*bothras* est évidemment la transcription du mot sanskrit *putra* que nous avons trouvé dans Sātiyaputra. Il semble bien que Pline ait consigné dans son œuvre deux variantes d'égale valeur entre lesquelles les copistes ont cru légitime de choisir.

* * * * *

A. Cunningham a décrit une série de monnaies des Andhras, parmi lesquelles deux portent l'image d'un cheval. Sur plusieurs monnaies de cette série, on lit, à côté d'un nom royal, un titre terminé en °*kura*.[2] M. Rapson, qui a corrigé les transcriptions de Cunningham, lit les deux titres: Viḷivāyakura et Sivalakura.[3] M. Sylvain Lévi, dont l'attention s'est portée récemment sur ces inscriptions énigmatiques, a dû répéter à son tour ce que disait déjà M. Rapson en 1908: "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura."[4]

Si *kura* est un mot anaryen signifiant "ville", Viḷivāya et Sivala doivent désigner la ville où résidaient les rois qui inscrivaient ces noms sur leurs monnaies ; autrement dit, ces princes ont dû prendre pour titre le nom de leur capitale. Un tel usage est attesté dans l'Inde ancienne. Le roi que les historiens grecs appellent Taxilès portait le nom de sa ville Takṣaśilā, et Strabon (XV, i, 36) nous apprend que le roi des Prasi devait "ajouter à son nom de famille le surnom de Palibothros, comme fit par exemple Sandrokottos auprès de qui Megasthène fut envoyé comme ambassadeur.".

Comme l'avait déjà suggéré Cunningham, Sivalakura doit être en relation avec Śiva. Sivala paraît bien être un dérivé moyen-indien de Śiva. Il semble que le roi çivaïte

[1] *Journ. As.*, 1890, ii, p. 549, n. 4.
[2] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 108.
[3] *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty*, p. xxxvii.
[4] *Journ. As.*, Janvier–Mars, 1925, p. 56.

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Māḍharīputra ait donné à sa capitale et pris pour lui-même le nom du dieu.

Quant à Viḷivāyakura, il ressemble singulièrement au titre royal Beleokouros noté par Ptolémée. M. Sylvain Lévi qui lisait Baleokouros [1] a déjà observé cette ressemblance. La leçon Beleokouros adoptée par M. Renou [2] laisse encore mieux apercevoir le parallélisme des formes.

Dans les Tables de Ptolémée, la capitale du roi Beleokouros est appelée Hippokoura. Il semble que

Hippokoura
*Beleokoura
Viḷivāyakura

soient trois noms d'une même capitale. Ceci admis, si l'on isole l'élément *kura* " ville " commun à ces trois noms, il reste : viḷivā(ya) = beleo = hippos = cheval.

On a précisément en sanskrit *vaḍavā* " jument " et *vaḍava* " cheval qui ressemble à une jument " auxquels correspond en pali *vaḷavā* " jument " ou " cheval ". Il est possible que dans Hippokoura *hippo°* soit la traduction grecque de l'indo-aryen *vaḍavā*, *vaḷavā*. Examinons de plus près cette conjecture.

Phonétiquement, l'équivalence *baḍavā°/vaḷavā°* = *beleo°* suppose, d'une part, une contraction de *vā* en *o* et, d'autre part, un changement de timbre des deux premiers *a*. Le premier phénomène n'a rien de surprenant ; toutefois, dans les transcriptions grecques de noms géographiques indiens *o* < *va* est généralement noté *ô* : Peukelaôtis = Puṣkalāvatī, Hydraôtês = Irāvatī. Le changement de timbre des deux premiers *a* de **vaḍavākura/*vaḷavākura* > **vaḷaokura* sous l'influence de l' *u* de *kura* serait une conséquence de la loi d'harmonie vocalique. Cette loi s'applique précisément dans les langues munda et j'ai montré ailleurs que le mot indien *kura* " ville " appartient au vocabulaire ancien de ces

[1] *Journ. As.*, 1925, i, p. 56.
[2] *La Géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde*, vii, i, 83.

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langues.[1] Il est donc vraisemblable qu'un nom de ville tel que Vaḷavăkura ait été prononcé *beleokura par les populations anaryennes de l'Inde ancienne.

Beleo°, noté par Ptolémée, était sans doute une forme populaire en usage chez les marchands et les marins, tandis que Viḷivāya°, gravé sur les monnaies, était probablement emprunté à la langue administrative, c'est-à-dire à un autre niveau linguistique. Viḷi° correspond à Bele° ; *vā* tend à restituer l'ancienne forme sanskrite dont la syllable *vă* s'est contractée en *o* ; la terminaison *-ya* rappelle *vaḷāhaya* du prâkrit jaina. Il semble, en somme, que Viḷivāya soit un compromis entre une forme populaire transcrite par Ptolémée : Beleo° et une forme littéraire en *-vāya*, plus voisine du sanskrit *vaḍavā* que le prâkrit *vaḷāhaya*.

* * * * *

Cette discussion n'a pas uniquement servi à établir l'exacte concordance des témoignages indiens et grecs. Elle projette également quelque clarté sur l'histoire politique et religieuse des Andhras. Le titre Viḷivāyakura, rapproché du texte de Ptolémée, indique que la capitale de ce peuple portait le nom du cheval mythique. C'est dire que dans la religion des Andhras, de même que dans le Vishnouïsme, le cheval était l'incarnation d'un grand dieu. Sous Māḍharīputra, le titre du roi change : lui-même et sa capitale empruntent leur nom à Śiva ; ce doit être la conséquence d'une réforme religieuse. Sous le roi suivant Vāsiṣṭhīputra, l'ancien titre royal et par conséquent l'ancien culte sont restaurés. Observons en outre que les monnaies de Māḍharīputra sont parfois d'anciennes pièces de son prédécesseur qui ont été frappées de nouveau. Le même fait se reproduit sous le roi qui succède à Māḍharīputra. Ce procédé irrespectueux est la négation de l'autorité du roi précédent. La réforme

[1] Les transcriptions grecques de noms indiens, qui reproduisent sans doute des formes populaires, sont riches en faits d'harmonie vocalique : Ambulima > Embolima, Hiraṇyabāhu > Erannoboas, Puṣkalāvati > Peukelaôtis.

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religieuse paraît donc avoir été accompagnée d'une révolution politique. Tout se passe comme si la tradition vishnouïte avait été brusquement rompue par l'usurpation d'un roi çivaïte, puis renouée par son successeur.

Enfin les suggestions qui précédent sont susceptibles d'éclairer certains aspects de l'histoire littéraire de l'Inde. On sait que la tradition indigène associe au nom de Hāla, qui est un roi Śātakarṇi, la floraison de la littérature prâkrite, de même qu'elle rattache au souvenir de Vikramāditya le renouveau de la littérature sanskrite.[1] Quand on voudra mesurer la part des influences anaryennes dans le développement de la littérature prâkrite, on ne devra pas perdre de vue que l'onomastique des Andhras contient un important élément austroasiatique.

[1] Garrez, *Journ. As.*, VI série, XX, p. 199 et suiv.

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# Fragment of an Expiation-Ritual against Sickness

By The REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

THE text here published occupies part of the Reverse of British Museum tablet Rm. 2,160 and includes part of two prayers, with the accompanying ritual. The first prayer is addressed to some goddess, the second is to the stone *šadanu*. Of the Obverse, only a few signs remain. My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for their kind permission to publish this text, and I have to acknowledge gratefully the help accorded to me by Professor Langdon in interpreting and restoring it, and by Mr. C. J. Gadd in collating for me some of the lines.

Rm. 2,160

*Reverse*

1. . . . . [*il*]*āni* (?) . . . . . *ištar*[*āti* (?)] . . . . .
   . . . . gods . . . . . goddesses . . . . .
2. [*ana-ku annannu mâr annanni šá īl-ī*] *annannu ištar-ī* [*annannī-tum*] [1]
   I am so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so, whose goddess is so-and-so,
3. . . . . [*ša*] *lib-ba-šù-nu itti-ia šu-zu-zi-in-ni*
   . . . . . with whom their heart has been made angry (?),
4. *ša* (?) *egirrū-ia lum-mu-nu* [2] *la šu-te-šu-ru p*[*a-da-ni* (?)] [3]
   Whose thoughts have been made wicked, whose way has not been made straight.
5. . . . *-ni-iš ú-še-mu-nin-ni pi-rit-tam gi-lit-tam a-d*[*ír-tam iš-ku-nu-ni* (?)] [4]
   Like . . . they have made me; terror, panic (and) melancholy they have prepared for me;

[1] This formula has usually *īl-šù* and *ištar-šù*. The formula is fully discussed by Langdon, *R.A.* 16, 49 ff.
[2] Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 30, 31.
[3] Cf. *PSBA*. 1918, 108, 20.
[4] Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 29, 8–10.

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6. [*pa-a*]*r-da šunāti-i̯a lum-mu-na id* [*āti-i̯a*]
Horrible are my dreams, disastrous are my omens;
7. [*ik* (?)]-*ka-pap* [1] *ka-bít-ti ba-šu-ú i-na* . . . -[*i̯a* (?)] . . .
Bent is my stomach, there are in my . . . . .
8. *ša ilu-ti-ki rabî-ti tidû-ma ana-ku lâ idû-* [*ú*]
Which thy great divinity knows, but I know not.
9. *ila zi-na ištar zi-ni-tum šul-li-me-im-* [*ma*] [2]
Make thou the angered god and angered goddess to be at peace with me,
10. *ki-mil-ti ili u ištari šup-ṭí-ri i̯a-* [*a-ši*]
The wrath of god and goddess relax for me;
11. *ḫi-ṭí-it ár-ni abi ummi aḫi aḫati mâri mârti ardi u* [*amtī*] [3]
The sin of the wrongdoing of father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, man-servant, or maid-servant,
12. *tap-pi-e it-ba-ri ru-'u-a ru-ut-ti ù lub-bu-ru* . . . [4]
Of comrade, associate, male friend, female friend, or . . .
13. *wa-ak-ta-nar-ru-ma dalīlî-ki lud-lu-* [*ul*]
. . . . . (?), and I will sing thy praises.

---

14. *III-šù iman-nu-ma idê-šù ana arki-šù tutâr*(?)*-ma a-du murṣa-šù* . . .
Thrice he shall recite (it). His arms behind him thou shalt turn (?), and as long as his sickness [lasts]
15. *ana pan kakkabāni mê ù šikara ša-du-nu tanak-ki-ma lâ tuš-ki-* [*en*]
before the stars water and . . . beer libate and do not kneel.
16. *ina ûri ina ḫa-a-me uttêl* [5] *ma ina šir-ti X šiḳlê* *aban šad* [*āni* [6]] . . .

[1] Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 30, 31.
[2] Cf. *RA*. 16, 68, 7.
[3] Cf. *Šurpû*, viii, 51.
[4] Cf. *Šurpû*, viii, 41.
[5] Or read perhaps *tuttêl*, "thou shalt sleep."
[6] Cf. Geller, *ATU*. i, 303, 15–38, especially lines 22 and 32, and see ibid, p. 339, note on line 15, for a note on the *šadānu* stone, which seems to have been some kind of sparkling jewel.

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On the roof . . . . he shall sleep, and in the morning ten shekels of *šadānu*-stone thou shalt . . . .

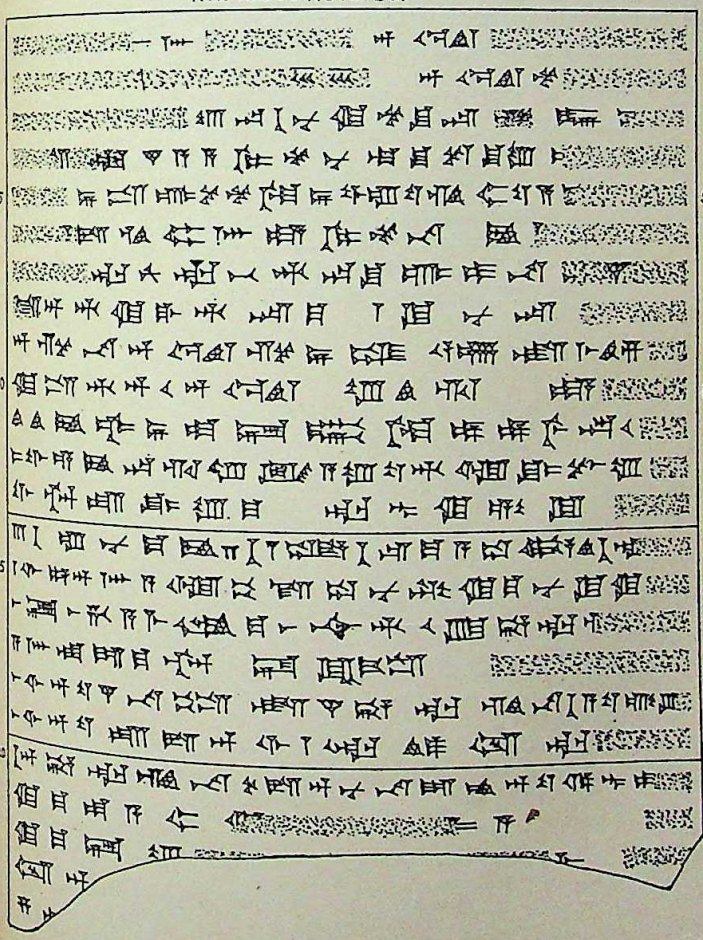
17. *mê tu-ra-ma-ak šamna taptaššaš* . . . . .

With water wash thyself and anoint thyself with oil . . . . . .

18. *ina pan* [d] *Šamši niknakka burāši tašakkan* [aban] *šadāna šù-a-tū tanašši*

Before Shamash a censer of cypress thou shalt place, and this *šadānu*-stone thou shalt remove.

Rm. 2160. Reverse.



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19. *ina pan* $^{d}$ *Šamši ta-da-an-ši* [1] *ana ēlî kīām iḳa*[*bbi*]
Before Shamash thou shalt put (give) it. Over it he shall speak as follows :

---

20. *šiptu* $^{aban}$ *ka-gi-na šad-da-an-nu na-ra-am* $^{d}$ *Šamši daiāni ṣ*[*i-ri* (?)] [2]
Incantation. O *kagina*-stone, *šadānu*, darling of Shamash the far-famed judge,
21. *ki-ma abi a-lid*[*-ia* (?) [3] *ár-nu*(?)]*-ú-a* . . . .
Like my father, my begetter, [forgive] my wrongdoings;
22. *ki-ma ummi šup-*[*ṭir* (?)] . . . . . .
Like my mother, dissolve [my sins (?)];
23. *kīma* $^{ilu}$ [*Šamši* (?) [4]] . . . . . .
Like Shamash, [enlighten my darkness (?)]
24. *za-* . . . . . (The rest of the tablet is missing.)

[1] For *tanaddanši*.
[2] Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 25, 2 and 40, 1.
[3] Cf. King, *Magic*, No. 11, l. 38.
[4] Cf. King, *Magic*, No. 12, ll. 34 f.

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# A Prayer to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk

By The REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

THE fragment K. 2784, published by Langdon in his *OECT.* vi, pl. xxii, belongs to the same tablet as K. 7593, which was edited by King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 62. We now have, therefore, an almost complete text of the earlier part of a hymn to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. I have to thank Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, for permission to collate the reunited tablet, and Professor Langdon for his kindness in helping me with the interpretation of the text.

K. 2784 + K. 7593

*Obverse*

*šiptu* $^{ilu}$ *É-a* $^{ilu}$ *Šamaš u* $^{ilu}$ *Asar-[lù]-dùg ilāni rabûti*
*da-i-nu di-en mati mu-šim-mu [š]îmāti mu-uṣ-ṣi-ru uṣurāti*
*mu-us-si-ku is-ki-e-ti šá šamê-e u irṣi-tim at-tu-nu-ma*
*šîmāti šá-a-mu uṣurāti uṣ-ṣu-ru šá ḳati-ku-nu-ma*

5. *šîmāt balāṭi at-tu-nu-ma ta-šim-ma uṣurāt balāṭi at-tu-nu-ma tu-uṣ-ṣa-ra*
*purus balāṭi at-tu-nu-ma ta-pár-ra-sa šipat-ku-nu balāṭu*
*ṣi-it pî-ku-nu šá-la-mu e-piš pî-ku-nu ba-la-tu-um-ma*
*da-i-nu di-en mati ka-bi-su irṣi-ti rapaš-ti*
*e-ma šamû-ú ir(?)*[1]*-bu ka-bi-su ki-rib šamê-e rûḳūti at-tu-nu-ma*

10. *mu-nak-ki-ru lum-ni šá-ki-nu dum-ki nu-pa-si-su idāti ittāti limnēti*
*šunāti p[ar]-da-a-ti*[2] *limnēti lâ ṭâbāti mu-šal-li-tu ki-e lum-ni*
*mu-pa-aš-ši-ru aršašê e-ma idāti ittāti ma-la ba-šá-a*
*ana-ku annannu mâr annanni šá īl-šù annannu ištar-šù annannî-tum*
*šá idāti ittāti limnēti it-ta-nab-šá-nim-ma*

[1] The sign seems rather to be Ú, or KIT, or KAL.
[2] Cf. iv R. 60, Obv. 44 (= Langdon, *Bab.*, iii, 25, 44); iv R. 17, Rev. 16; Ebeling, *KAR.* 76, 3, and see Zimmern, *OLZ.* 1917, 104, note 3.

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15. *pal-ḫa-ku-ma ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku*

---

*[ina] lumun attalē* $^{ilu}$ *Sin ina lumun attalē* $^{ilu}$ *Šamši ina lumun kakkabāni šá šu-ut* $^{ilu}$ *É-a šu-ut* $^{ilu}$ *A-nim šu-ut* $^{ilu}$ *Enlil*

*ina lumun kak[kab]āni(?) šá ana kakkabāni ḫarrāni is-ni-[ḳu (?)]*

*ina lumun [kakkab]āni(?) šá ana a-ḫa-meš it-te-iḫ-ḫ[u-ú]*

20. *[ina lumun mati (?) . . . .] ina lumun ali . . .*

. . . . . (Remainder broken off) . . . . .

*Reverse*

. . . . . (Beginning broken off) . . . . .

. . . . $^{ilu}$ *É-a* [$^{ilu}$ *Šamaš u* $^{ilu}$ *Asar-lù-dùg* (?)]

*[da-lil ilu-ti-ku-nu(?)] rabî-ti ana pan ni[šê(?) rapšāti lud-lul (?)]*

---

. . . *[ǵ]úl dū-a-bi* . . . . .

---

## Translation

*Obverse*

Incantation: Ea, Shamash, and Marduk, ye great gods,
Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who appoint fates, who fahsion destinies,[1]
Who divide the portions for the heavens and for the earth;
To appoint fates and to fashion destinies[1] is in your hand;
5. Ye are they who decree the fates of life; ye are they who fashion the destinies of life;
Ye are they who ordain the decree of life; your incantation is life;
The utterance of your mouth is peace; the speech[2] of your mouth is life;

[1] Literally "forms".
[2] Literally "work".

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Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who tread upon the wide earth,
Who, when [1] the heavens enter (?), tread in the midst of the distant heavens,
10. Who oppose evil, who provide welfare, who blot out unlucky prodigies and signs,
Shivering dreams, evil and not good; who sever the threads of evil,
Who perform expiations for prodigies and signs,[2] how many soever there be;
I, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so, whose goddess is so-and-so,
Upon whom evil prodigies and signs have come,
15. Am afraid, melancholy and cast into gloom.

---

On account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the moon; on account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the sun;
On account of an evil omen in the stars of Ea, or of Anu, or of Enlil;
On account of an evil omen of stars (?) which block (?) the paths of (other) stars;
On account of an evil omen of *stars* which have approached one another,
20. *On account of a disaster to the land*; on account of a disaster to the city; . . . . .
. . . . . .

*Reverse*

. . . . . .
. . . . . Ea, *Shamash and Marduk*,
*The praise of your* great *godhead* before *the wide-dwelling* peoples *I will sing*.

---

*Incantation against* all kinds of evil (?) . . . . . .

---

[1] Or "where"; or "as".
[2] Literally, "who loosen spells with regard to prodigies and signs."

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Lines 16 ff. of the Obverse appear to be a citation of various forms of evil portents, which might be inserted, in whole or in part, into the body of the prayer, as occasion demanded. I have attempted to restore the lines on the Reverse, assuming that these form the end of the prayer on the Obverse, but this assumption may be wrong. The remainder of the Reverse is occupied by a ritual and the colophon of Ashurbanipal's library. The tablet formed part of a series, and the catchline for the next tablet runs : [*šiptu bêl*] *bêlē šar šarrāni*.[1]

[1] Possibly a prayer to Enlil ; cf. Langdon, *PSBA*. 1912, 153, 7 (= King, *Magic*, 19, 4 = Ebeling, *KAR*. 68, 14).

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# An Unknown Turkish Shrine in Western Macedonia

By MARGARET HASLUCK

THE Turkish shrine to be described below lies in Greek Macedonia, where there are now no Turks. But the paper will describe the shrine as it was in 1923, a year before the Turks were removed from Greece to Asia Minor under the terms of the Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey.

The shrine has remained unknown because it is so remote from the ordinary routes even of scientific travel. To reach it one must journey seven hours west from Salonica along the Monastir railway line to Sorovitch, motor 56 kilometres south to Kozani in two and a half hours, ride four hours eastwards past Sari Gueul, the Yellow Lake, to the village of Ineobasi, and finally climb an hour and a half up the mountain above Ineobasi. The shrine is thus fifteen hours distant from Salonica, the nearest point of access for western travellers.

Pilgrims may go to the shrine on any day that they choose, but as usual in Turkey, Friday, the day of *juma*, is the best day for making the pilgrimage. Accordingly I started from Ineobasi early in the morning of Friday, 13th April, 1923. The village watchman came with me as my guide and escort. We began to climb at once, and from the first our pilgrimage was difficult. The gradient was considerable, and the path was littered with fragments of the limestone of which the mountain is composed. These fragments shifted their position under our feet or sent their sharp edges through our boots at every step. After half an hour the sun was high enough, and therefore hot enough, to distress us. Those who have travelled among treeless limestone mountains, where the rock is practically bare of soil, will recall what



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happens in such circumstances. The limestone sucks in every ray of the sun, grows burning hot underfoot, and sends up waves of heat round the unfortunate traveller.

When the watchman and I had climbed for about an hour, an interesting scene made us forget our toil and trouble. Some Turkish women who were climbing just ahead of us, stopped at a detached boulder by the wayside. One of them moved towards it and laid her brow and lips to it three times, murmuring "Bismillahi", "in the Name of God", as she did so. Then she turned and scratched her back against the stone, for all the world like a cow that scratches its tail against a gate. The stone was a *bel tashi*, *waist stone*, and it cured pains in the backs of those who went through the ritual just described. No reason for its powers was known. It was not associated then or ever with any holy man. It simply stood on the Sacred Way, an isolated, upright, somewhat rectangular rock as broad and half as tall again as a man.

Passing the *bel tashi*, the watchman and I turned into a singularly narrow gulley, with steep limestone sides and a dry torrent bed at the bottom. For a quarter of an hour we climbed along the side of this gulley under appalling conditions. Not a breath of air stirred, the limestone chips were fiery hot to our tread, and the glare was intense. Such difficulties suggested that the sanctity of many natural sites of pilgrimage may be partly due to the effect on the human organism of the effort to reach them. Any natural phenomenon that is beyond the understanding of ignorant people must be particularly impressive if it can be reached only after an exhausting, nerve-racking journey. And a striking phenomenon lay ahead of us, as an exhausting journey lay behind us.

This striking phenomenon was nothing less than a spring of icy-cold water that rose in a shallow cave. Its coolness could not but seem miraculous to people who saw only that the bare and blistering mountain-side was within a few feet

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and did not realize that the slope of the mountain was so sharp that a huge mass of rock protected the water from the sun's rays.

As we arrived, a group of women were sitting at the mouth of the cave, while inside a small child was undergoing treatment. An old woman, the recognized attendant of the cave, dipped a jug into a pool of water that lay on the left, poured most of the water over the child's head, hands, and bare feet, and then held the jug to the child's lips for the child to drink the rest of the water. Next she scraped her fingers along the roof, where drops of water slowly gathered. With her wet fingers she touched the child's brow, cheeks, and feet. Then she filled a pitcher at the pool and in return for a silver coin gave it to the child's grandmother. The latter was to take the water home to give to the child or any other of her household who might fall ill. Both on the way and at home she had to be careful not to spill any of it, and all of it must be drunk. It would be a *gunah*, a sin, not to drink it.

The spring was a *lija*, a curative spring, of cold, not hot, water, be it noted, and it was presided over by Lija Baba. It worked its cures for patients who drank its water or who washed in it, that is to say, for patients who came into intimate contact with it. It was particularly potent against headache and stomach ache. It was all the more sacred for rising in a cave, since caves tend naturally to be regarded with awe.

The spring was not the only attraction of the cave. There were other objects of interest, as the old woman presently went on to demonstrate. With her grandchild she crossed to the opposite side of the cave. There earth covered the floor and also a ledge a little above it. First of all the old woman took earth from the floor and rubbed it on the child's head, *kel olmasin*, to keep it from becoming scurvy, as so often happens in these regions. Then she took earth from the ledge and rubbed it on the child's brow, *bean olsun*, "for the sake of appearances," one might say, probably as

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a simple tonic or prophylactic. Finally she scooped up a little water with her hand from a low pool below the ledge and washed the child's cheeks and her own face with it. This pool, however, was of secondary importance. The other was the more important. The earth in both places was sacred only because of its proximity to the first and more sacred pool. And the earth from the ledge was infallible in cases of headache.

All this time one of the women outside held a cock. The old grandmother was to kill and eat it a little later in front of the cave. Without such a sacrifice, *kurban*, her pilgrimage would be *nafile*, null and void. A sheep would have been a more acceptable offering, but a cock was as much as she could afford.

Meanwhile the women we had left at the "waist stone" had arrived. Among them was a young woman with her infant son in her arms. Moving forward to a hole like a natural arch in the rock adjacent to the cave, she passed her infant three times through the hole. Four other children she had borne had died, but she hoped to change her luck and to save this last child by passing it through the holed stone, the *delikli tash*, at Lija Baba's shrine, by bringing it, that is, into contact all round with the rock, the symbol of strength.

No more "cures" were visible or reported as existing in Lija Baba's domain, but there were two interesting places down in the gulley, some 30 feet from the cave. Under our very eyes a woman took her daughter's child down to a heap of ruined, but definitely rectangular, masonry that lay beside the bed of the torrent. The old woman led the child three times round this heap, and then she bent herself, and made the child bend, to kiss the last corner with her brow and lips three times. She hoped this circumambulation of the ruins would make the child stronger than it was.

The form of the ruins suggested a rectangular building, perhaps a tomb-chamber, but their outline was not distinct

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enough for me to identify their purpose and the Turks could give me no information. They knew the place only as a *nishan yer*, a *vakuf*, a holy place where signs and portents might be expected. Perhaps it was once the hut of some forgotten attendant of the cave.

The ruins themselves did not appear to be used for divination, but a tiny patch of green and level ground beside them gave omens. That very morning the turf had been turned up at two different points with a knife or other small instrument. A childless woman, said the watchman, must have dug each little pit to see if she was doomed to remain childless. As she dug, she was sure to have repeated some simple Moslem prayer, mingling religion and superstition in the usual fashion of backward people. If a worm had appeared as the result of her digging, she would bear a son. If an insect had appeared, she would have a daughter. If neither worm nor insect had appeared, she would remain barren. Apart from her natural grief at the last suggestion, its consequences might be very serious for her. Turks believe so strongly in omens that the woman's husband might act on the omen and marry another wife in order to beget children.

As to the origin of the sanctity of this patch of ground, I can only suggest that its greenness in such bare surroundings had struck the Turks as miraculous. Probably nothing more than accident had determined the superstition which they had attached to it. It would be only natural to poke about in such a place with a stick or a knife, and if a childless woman had done so and had later had a child, the superstition would spring into life as a matter of course.

Remounting to the cave from the bottom of the gulley, the watchman and I passed a short distance round the shoulder of the hill and so came to an immense cave with two entrances, the home of In Baba, Cave Baba. Lija Baba was apparently a colourless saint, but In Baba had a considerable personality. He lived somewhere inside his cave, and had done so since the world dried up and men were created, as the watchman put

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it in his Turkish phraseology. But In Baba was invisible, and his exact whereabouts in the cave were unknown. Hence the candles that were lit in his honour every Friday and Monday evening, were set in the middle of the cave to ensure his realizing for whom they were intended. Invisible though he was, he could make his presence disagreeably felt. Human beings were permitted to sleep in his cave, but if a sinner took advantage of his permission, In Baba would visit him during his sleep and slap him soundly. Sometimes too, he appeared to sleepers in their villages, demanding candles or a *kurban* from them. On such occasions he gave precise instructions about his wishes, and if his victim disregarded his orders, he punished him with sickness or other disaster. He had his whims, too. He welcomed sheep in his cave and could shelter as many as three or four hundred of them. Goats, however, he declined to receive, for they are destructive animals. Though now invisible, he seems once to have been visible, since he is said to have "disappeared". With him "disappeared" his horse and mule. A hoofprint of each, turned to stone, may be seen at one entrance to his cave.

In this veracious life-history there is nothing that could not be paralleled elsewhere in Moslem hagiology. Moslem saints frequently appear to men in dreams, and other cases where they have "disappeared" are recorded. I need cite only Khidr (Khizr), the Mahdi, and Christ Himself. Stones with curious natural markings are commonly enough interpreted as sacred hoofprints or footprints. The invidious distinction drawn by In Baba between sheep and goats is due to the Bektashi sympathies of the watchman who was my informant. As Shias, the Bektashi dervishes and their sympathizers abhor the Caliph Yezid and all his relatives because of the Caliph's treatment of the Imam Husain. Now Moawiya, the father of Yezid, was bearded, and Bektashis relate the beard of goats to Moawiya's beard and hate the animals accordingly. For this interesting Bektashi

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belief I am indebted to Monsieur Ekrem Bey Vlora, the present Chargé d'Affaires for Albania in London. As already said, the watchman of Ineobasi attributed In Baba's ban on goats to their destructiveness.

Like Lija Baba, In Baba had a holed stone in his cave. It relieved the sick or the childless who passed three times through it. He also owned a *nishan yer* where omens, *isharet*, were given. This spot was well inside the cave, where a number of stalactites hung from the roof. The watchman said there were forty of them, but forty being a common mystic number in the Near East, I counted them and found but thirty-seven. The omens they gave appeared to be all of peace or war. Thus, when Macedonia was at peace, water dripped from them. When Macedonia was at war, no water dripped from them. Moreover, in 1912 a great stone fell from the roof, terrifying the Turks. Their terror was justified, and the omen proved true, some months afterwards, when the Balkan war, with its disastrous consequences for Turkey, broke out.

Most of this information the watchman gave me as we sat outside In Baba's cave. In itself it was good to sit and talk there, and that was the best place for pilgrims to offer *kurban*. But there was still something to see. Rising, the watchman led me farther round the hill, first to an enormous natural arch and then to a small cave. Both arch and cave were sacred to In Baba. The arch was almost an animals' hospital. If foals and calves died year after year, the run of death could be checked by passing their mothers through this arch. Only big animals were supposed to be passed through it, but the watchman had passed a ewe through a few months before. He had done so more as an experiment than anything else, for sheep were not supposed to benefit here, but the ewe had a flourishing lamb this year, whereas the two she had had before had died at birth.

In the small cave a holed stone had an interesting property. The hole is so small that passage through it is always difficult,

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but should a sinner essay the passage, the rock contracts miraculously and prevents her from passing through. Its sole mission is to relieve childless women. Just before our visit some one had achieved a successful passage. This was evident from the scraped condition of the earth on the floor of the arch. Probably the successful woman was one of those who had dug for an omen down in the gulley.

So far as I am aware, there was no other form of cult at this shrine. Summing up, therefore, we note that within a very small area we have two sacred springs, three sacred caves, four holed stones, one of them with an ordeal attached, two sacred footprints, two saints, both with the characteristic vagueness of Turkish saints, and sacred earth. Most of these sacred objects worked cures, some, like the springs, being general practitioners, others, like the waist stone or the last *delikli tash*, being specialists. After prayer and *kurban* they worked their cures by such forms of contact as drinking, rubbing, circumambulation, and passage. And as might be expected from Moslems who in some ways rate animals very high, animals shared the benefits of the shrine with their masters. Finally, two of the sacred spots gave omens. The range of the shrine's activity is the widest known to me outside the great centres of Moslem population.

Since 1924 the Turks have been gone from Macedonia, but the shrine is not yet completely deserted. Greek, Bulgar, and Vlach Christians from the surrounding district still frequent it for healing as they did in Turkish times.

[The frequentation of Moslem shrines by Christians and the principles underlying the practices above described are treated exhaustively in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929) by the late F. W. Hasluck.]

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# Some new Vannic Inscriptions

By A. H. SAYCE

## Nos. XCIII–C

ONE of the most important Vannic inscriptions—or rather series of inscriptions—yet found in Armenia was discovered and excavated in 1916 by Professor Marr and Mr. Orbeli immediately under the walls of the citadel of Van. Here they found steps and niches cut in the rock, at the back of one of which was the monument in question. Under its vaulted roof was a rectangular stone stela standing on a pedestal. The sides of the stela were inscribed, as also was the pedestal; while two other inscriptions were engraved on either side of the stela on the wall of the rock behind it. Exceptionally good photographs were taken of the inscriptions, which have been edited by Professor Marr with transliteration and translation as well as an elaborate commentary. The volume containing them, *Archæological Discoveries at Van in the year* 1916 (Petersburg, 1922), is a very sumptuous one and more than equal in matter and appearance to any of the previous volumes of the Archæological Society of Russia.

The upper part of the stela is broken, and consequently a few lines have been lost at the commencement of each of the texts on its sides, while the text A on the north side of the pedestal stone is, with a few variations, the same as that of Sayce XLIX on a rock near the gate of Tabriz.

At the foot of the monument a Christian interment was discovered, an Armenian inscription below the east wall of the western niche indicating that it belonged to the middle of the ninth or tenth century. Up to that date, therefore, the monument can have been only partially covered.

In continuation of my old numeration I have numbered the new inscriptions XCIII M, etc., the Topzawa inscription (*JRAS.* July, 1906) being LII T and the Kelishin inscription LVI K.

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## XCIII M

A. On the north side of the pedestal stone

1. AN Khal-di-[ni]-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-[i]-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
*To the Khaldis-gods I prayed, the beings multitudinous,*
ka-ru-ni MAT Ma-na-ni
*who have subjected the Mannians'*

2. MAT-ni-e la-qu-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
*land to the rule (?) of Sarduris*
D.P. Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
*son of Argistis ; to Khaldis the giver ;*

3. AN Khal-di-ni-ni [gis]-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi
*to the Khaldis-gods the multitudinous, the givers, I prayed,*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-ni
*on behalf of Sarduris*

4. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi D.P. AN[RI-]du-ri-[s] a-li-e
*son of Argistis. Sarduris says :*
us-ta-a-di MAT Ba-bi-lu-ni-e
*On approaching of Babilus*

5. MAT e-ba-ni gi-di kha-[u-bi]
*land the wall, I conquered*
MAT Ba-bi-lu-u MAT e-ba-ni-a ku-dha-a-di
*the people of Babilus, after marching*
pa-ri
*from*

6. MAT Ba-ru-a-ta-i-ni-a AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
*the land of Baruatainia. To the Khaldis-gods, the powerful,*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*Sarduris*

7. a-li-e kha-u-bi III E-GAL-MES a-gu-nu-ni-li ma-nu-li
*says : I took 3 palaces : all their spoil*
gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
*by force I seized ;*

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8. XXIII ALU-MES I UD-ME-ni as-gu-u-bi
23 *cities in one day I captured ;*
E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi
*the palaces I destroyed ; the cities I burned :*
MAT-ni-a tu-bi
*the people I removed ;*

9. ha-se-MES SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi
*the men (&) women of them I carried off ;*
VIIIMCXXXV TUR-se-MES na-khu-bi
8,135 *children I took,*

10. XXVM NISU u-e-di-a-ni-[MES] VIM
(&) 25,000 *old men,* 6,000
NISU gu-nu-si-ni-i IIMCCCCC
*mighty men,* 2,500
ANSU-KUR-RA-MES pa-ru-bi
*horses I carried away ;*

11. XIIMCCC GUD pa-[khi-]ni XXXIIMC LU su-se
12,300 *oxen,* 32,100 *sheep ;*
i-na-ni nu-e nu-na-a-bi me-i-a-li
*the city of the king I went as far as ;*

12. NISU a-śi-MES-se pa-ar-tu-s pa-ar-tu-[u] i-u
*the infantry were carried off as captives : thus*
MAT e-ba-ni as-u-la-a-bi
*the country I desolated (?).*

13. i-ku-ka-ni MU ta-ra-ni us-ta-di
*The same year the second time on approaching*
MAT E-ti-u-ni-e-di MAT Li-qi-u-e-
*the land of Etius, of Liqius*

14. e-di-a MAT-e-di-a-ni ALU MAN-nu-śi
*the people, the royal city*
D.P. A-bi-a-ni-i-ni-i a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a
*of Abianis, all the spoil by force*
kha-u-bi
*I took ;*

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15. ALU Ir-u-i-a-ni ALU MAN-nu-śi D.P. Ir-ku-a-i-ni-i
*the city of Iruias, the royal city of Irkuais,*
a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
*all the spoil*

16. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi [ALU] Ir-ma-a-ni
*by force I took; [the city of] Irmas,*
ALU MAN-nu-śi D.P. U-e-da-i-ni-i a-gu-nu-u-ni
*the royal city of Uedais, the spoil*

17. ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi MAT-ni
*in full by force I took. Over the land*
ALU Bu-i-ni-[i]-al-khi NISU bu-ra-as-tu-bi
*of Buis I appointed a governor.*
me-si-ni pi-i
*His name*

18. ha-al-du-bi me-e-s D.P. AN RI-[du-ri-]e a-ri-e-ne
*I changed. He to Sarduris gave*
i-na-ni-li IV E-GAL-MES
*the city; 4 palaces*

19. MAT e-ba-ni-a-tsi-e kha-[u]-bi ha-se-MES SAL
*in his country I took; the men (&)*
lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi
*women of them I carried off;*

20. IIIMCCCCC TUR-se-MES XMCCCCC NISU u-e-di-a-ni
3,500 children, 10,500 *old men,*
IVM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i
4,000 *mighty men*

21. pa-[ru]-u-bi VIIIMCCCCCXXV GUD pa-khi-ni
*I carried off;* 8,525 *oxen*
pa-ru-bi XVIIIM LU su-se-MES
*I carried off;* 18,000 *sheep*
pa-ru-bi
*I carried off.*

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22. i-[ku-ka-]a-ni MU si-is-ti-ni us-ta-di
*The same year for the 3rd time on approaching*
MAT Ur-me-u-e-e-di-a XI E-GAL-MES kha-u-bi
*the land of Urmes 11 palaces I took,*

23. khar-khar-su-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
*I dug up. the men (&) women of them*
pa-ru-u-bi MC TUR-se-MES na-khu-bi
*I carried off; 1,100 children I seized,*

24. VIMCCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES IIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i
*6,500 women, 2,000 mighty men,*
IIMCCCCCXXXVIII GUD pa-khi-ni
*2,538 oxen,*

25. VIIIM LU su-se-MES D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*8,000 sheep. Sarduris*
D.P. Ar-gis-ti-[khi-]ni-s a-li-e a-li
*son of Argistis says: the sum*
NISU tu-khi
*of the captives*

26. III MAT e-ba-na I MU a-du-bi PAP
*of the 3 lands in one year I counted: in all*
XIIMCCCCCCCXXXV TUR-se na-khu-bi
*12,735 children I took;*
XLVIMCCCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-bi
*46,600 women I carried away;*

27. XXIIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i pa-ru-u-bi
*22,000 mighty men I carried off;*
IIMCCCCC ANSU KUR-RA-MES pa-ru-bi
*2,500 horses I carried away;*

28. XXIIIMCCCXXXV GUD pa-khi-ni LVIIIMC LU su-se
*23,335 oxen, 58,100 sheep*
pa-ru-bi AN Khal-di-i-a is-ti-ni-e
*I carried off. For this people of Khaldis*

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29. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU
*these* (?) *conquests* (?) *in one year*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
*Sarduris* *son of Argistis*
za-du-ni
*made.*

1. *Ma-śê* "existences" in lxxxvi, 39, shows that D. H. Müller was right in deriving *ma-śi-ne* from *ma* "to be".

The new inscription, No. XCVIM, 46, seems to show that *karu* has no connection with *kuru* "to give", and consequently my old translation of the formula in which it occurs must be revised. In F 22 (XCVIIIM) it must signify "to subject" or something similar, and we must assign a meaning like that of "rule" or "power" to *laquni* (or *tequni*).

5. *Gi-di* makes it clear that my old rendering of *gis*, *gês* as "wall" was right. The campaign against Babilus is described in XLIX, where I have suggested its identification with the Babyrsa of Strabo. As it was apparently in the country of the Minni it could not be Babylon, though the mention of "the wall" would suit Babylonia, which was defended on the north by the "Median Wall", the Kar-Dunias of the Kassites.

9. M. de Morgan and subsequently Professor Nikolsky found that in the Atam-Khan inscription (No. LIII) the first syllable (*ar*) of the name of Argistis (l. 2) is expressed by the ideograph of "son" or "child", which consequently must have had the phonetic value of *ar*.[1] Nikolsky further found that in l. 1 *usma-si-ni* "the gods" or "spirits" must be corrected to *ba-o-si-ni* which will thus be a synonym of *alśuisini* "powerful".

10. SAL takes the place of NISU in No. XLIX. *Uediani* has no connection with *ueli-dubi*, as I supposed formerly, and the passages in which it occurs, where the determinative

[1] This was pointed out by Dr. Belck as long ago as 1904 in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lviii, p. 165.

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is sometimes "man", sometimes "woman", indicate that it signifies "old". *Gunus(e)* is translated by the Ass. *litu* "force", "strength", in the Topzawa texts; hence *gunu-si-ni* will be "the able-bodied", "the warriors", rather than "slaves" or "captives" as I once proposed, taking the word in a passive sense. *Gunusâ* "by force" would correspond to the Ass. "with weapons".

11. *Meiali* appears to signify "as far as", "up to." But perhaps we ought to divide the words *mei ali* and translate: "of him all the troops as captives were carried away." See note on XCVM, 44, 45.

12. The passive 3rd pers. form *partû* is interesting. The root is that of *parubi*, *parbi*. In XLIX, 12, we have *partus [s]eri partu*. The photograph gives *as-u-la-a-bi*, not *as-ga-la-a-bi*.

17. Literally "I placed a governor over the inhabitants of the land of Buis".

18. In *arê-ne* I now read *ne*, supposing it to be equivalent to the usual *-ni* (see xxxix, 5). But, since the character has the value of *dha* (*ṭa*) in the name of Malatiyeh, my old reading may be the more correct, *arê-ṭa* having the same 3rd pers. suffix as *partû*, *têrtu*, etc. (*JRAS*. 1906, p. 621). If so, *-ṭa* (or *-ṭi* ?) would represent the singular and *-tu* the plural.

19. In this line the signification of the suffix *-tsê* (*-zê*) is clear and my old explanation of it must be corrected.

24. The number of women is not 6,600 as in the older copies.

27. The 12,000 of the older copies must be corrected to 22,000.

29. The true interpretation of *arniusini-li* is given by lxxvii, 10, and lxxix, 20. But we have still to determine the shade of difference between the two forms *arniusini-li* and *arnisini-li*. With the first we can compare *ebani-u-kê* "part of the country". We should expect *inili* "these"; *inanili* is difficult to explain.

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## XCIVm.

B (IX). On the east side of the stela in the west niche.

Face A (first column)

The commencement of the inscription is lost.

1. ka-ru-ni . . . . . .
(*to the Khaldises*) *who have subjected of* . . .

2. MAT-ni-e te-qu-a-li
*the country* *to the power* (?)

3. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-ka-[i]
*of Sarduris*

4. [D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
*son of Argistis,*

5. AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni-[e]
*to Khaldis* *the giver,*

6. AN Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-[e]
*to the Khaldis-gods,* *the multitudinous,*

7. [ku]-ru-ni-ni us-ta-bi
*the givers,* *I prayed*

8. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-i-[ni]
*on behalf of Sarduris*

9. D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
*son of Argistis.*

10. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
*Sarduris*

11. a-li-e is-ti-e-di
*says :* *In this*

12. us-ta-di MAT Ma-na-i-di
*campaign* *to the land of the Mannians*

13. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni kha-u-bi
*the country* *I captured ;*

14. ALU-MES SARAP-bi khar-khar-su-[bi]
*the cities* *I burnt,* *I dug up ;*

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15. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni-a tu-[bi]
*the people* *I took;*

16. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-[bi]
*men (&) women* *I carried away*

17. MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di
*to Biainas.*

18. ALU Da-ar-ba-ni E-[GAL]
*Of the palace of the city of Darbas*

19. a-gu-nu-u-ni ma-a-[nu]
*all the spoil*

20. gu-nu-u-sa-a kha-u-[bi]
*by force* *I seized.*

21. [NISU ?] ir-di-MES is-ti-ni
*The workmen* *of them*

22. [kha-]su-u-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni
*I acquired.* *The country*

23. [MAT] e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di
*in parts of the country*

24. a-bi-li-du-bi i-ku-ka-ni
*I burnt.* *The same*

25. sa-a-li si-is-ti-i-ni
*year* *a third time,*

26. ki-e-i-da-nu-u-li
*after mustering*

27. [NISU] khu-ra-di-ni-e-li
*the soldiers*

28. MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
*in the land of the son of Erias,*

29. MAT e-ba-ni kha-a-i-[tu]
*the country* *they overmastered.*

30. ALU-MES khar-khar-si-tu-li
*The cities* *having been dug up*



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31. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a TI-[MES]
*the people alive,*

32. ha-se-MES SAL lu-tu-MES
*men (&) women*

33. MAT Bi-a-i-na-di pa-ar-[tu]
*to Biainas were carried off.*

34. AN Khal-di-i-ni-i-ni
*To the Khaldis gods,*

35. al-śu-u-i-si-ni
*the powerful,*

36. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*Sarduris says :*

37. a-li NISU ta-u-tu-khi (?)
*The sum of the captives*

38. is-ti-ni za-du-u-bi
*of them I made (was as follows)*

39. IIIMCCXXV TUR-se
3,225 *children*

40. is-ti-ni-ni na-khu-u-bi
*belonging to them I took ;*

41. IVMIXCXXVIII SAL lu-tu-MES
4,928 *women ;*

42. PAP VIIIMCLIII NISU UN-MES
*in all* 8,153 persons

43. a-li-ki za-as-gu-u-bi
*partly I killed,*

44. a-li-ki TI a-gu-u-bi
*partly alive I brought away ;*

45. CCCCXII ANSU KUR-RA-MES
412 *horses,*

46. VIMCCCCCCLXV GUD pa-khi-ni
6,665 *oxen,*

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47. XXVMCCCCCCCXXXV LU su-se
25,735 *sheep*

48. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
*Sarduris*

49. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
*son of Argistis* *says :*

50. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
*For this people of Khaldis*

51. [i]-na-a-ni-e-li
*these* (?)

52. ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
*conquests* (?)

53. [su]-śi-ni sa-a-li za-du-bi
*in one* *year* *I made.*

54. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
*Sarduris*

55. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
*son of Argistis* *says :*

56. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH na-khi-di-ni a-dhu
*Of a long* *life* *the leading* *may they decree !*

21. The ideographic MES suggests that *irdi* is a foreign word. Perhaps it represents the Ass. *ardu* "slave" (for which see G 3, No. XCVIII).

30. *Kharkharsi-tuli* is a compound of *kharkharsu* and *tu*.

37. The signification of *tautu(khi)* is given by the context. It seems to be a compound of *tu* as in *tukhi* "prisoners" and a root *tau* which is new.

56. The signification of *nakhi-di-ni* is given in the Kelishin text (No. LVI), where *nakhuni* is rendered by the Ass. *nasi* "raised", "brought". For *inukanê* cf. lxxxvii, 4–11 : *inukâni eśini-ni* D.P. *Gilurânê* GIS-TIR-*ni-kai pari* D.P. *Ispilini* D.P. *Ba-tu-khi-ni-ni* GIS-NU-KHIR-*ni-di* IXCL ⌈U "the length of the place to the wood of Giluras from the

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garden of Ispilis son of Batus being 950 cubits".[1] *A-dhu* for *a-tu* will be the 3rd pers. pl. of *a* "to speak" (whence the common *a-li* "he says").

## XCVM

C (10). The second column of the stela (Face B) on its north face.

The commencement is lost.

1. MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-[śu]-u-i-si-[ni]
   *In the land of Quldis to the Khaldis gods, the great ones,*
2. [D.P.] Kha-kha-a-ni SARRU MAT Khu-sa-a-al-khi
   *Khakhas king of the Khusians,*
   NISU UN-MES-ra-[ni]
   *[his] people*
3. e-di-ni ta-as-mu-u-bi pa-ru-bi
   *on behalf of, I devoted as a slave. I carried away*
   e-ir-tsi-du
   *the earth (?)*
4. MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
   *from a part of the country. Sarduris says:*
5. i-ku-ka-a-ni sa-a-li NISU a-śi-MES us-ta-a-li
   *The same year the cavalry having entered*
6. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni
   *the land of the son of Abilianis for the Khaldis-gods,*
   al-śu-si-[ni]
   *the great ones,*
7. IV YUME MAT e-ba-ni-i as-gu-bi
   *in 4 days the country I subjugated,*
   khar-khar-su-bi
   *I dug up;*

[1] Line 3 in this inscription is still a puzzle to me. Perhaps we should read [GIS ?]-KAK *ti-ma-ku-lu-[ni ?]* "has erected a boundary-pillar" or something similar.

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8. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni-a tu-u-bi
*the cities I burnt; the people I carried off;*
ha-a-se
*the men*

9. [SAL] lu-tu is-ti-ni pa-ru-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*(&) women of them I carried away. Sarduris*
a-li-e
*says:*

10. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni
*For this people of Khaldis this number of captives*
za-du-bi
*I made;*

11. ..MVIIICXC TUR-se na-khu-bi IIIMCCCCXCVI
..,890 *children I took;* 3,496
NISU TI-MES
*living men (&)*

12. VIMCCCCVIII NISU u-e-di-a-ni pa-ru-u-bi
6,408 *old men I carried away;*

13. PAP IXMIXCIV NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
*in all* 9,904 *men partly I killed,*

14. a-li-ki TI-LA-MES a-gu-bi LXV ANSU KUR-RA-MES
*partly alive I took;* 65 *horses*
pa-ru-bi
*I carried off;*

15. ..MXC GUD pa-khi-ni XMVIIICXCVII
..,090 *oxen,* 10,897
LU su-se-MES
*sheep.*

16. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
*Sarduris says: For this people of Khaldis*

17. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
*these (?) conquests (?) in one year I made.*

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18. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
*To the Khaldises I prayed, the multitudinous beings,*

19. ka-ru-ni SARRU D.P. E-ri-a-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e
*who have subjected the king of the country of the son of Erias,*

ka-ru-ni
*who have subjected*

20. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e te-qu-a-li
*the country of the son of Abilianis to the power (?)*

21. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di
*of Sarduris son of Argistis, to Khaldis*

ku-ru-ni
*the giver,*

22. AN Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-ni ku-ru-ni
*to the Khaldises the multitudinous, the givers,*

AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-[ni]
*to the Khaldis-gods, the great,*

23. us-ta-a-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ni D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
*I prayed on behalf of Sarduris son of Argistis.*

24. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li us-ta-di
*Sarduris says: On approaching*

MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-di
*the land of the son of Erias*

25. kha-u-bi MAT E-ri-a-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e su-śi-ni
*I conquered the country of the son of Erias; in one*

26. YUME as-gu-bi BIT-mu-ri-li
*day I got possession of the house of Muris;*

a-li NISU AT-se NISU AT-AT-se
*the whole of the . . . . . .*

27. [za-]du-a-li a-u-i-e ku-i ku-ul-me-e ma-ni NISU
*after consigning to the water, the fortress of him, the man,*

28. u-i a-i-se-i SARRU-MES se-kha-ya-la-a-ni
*along with the foundations of the existing (?) kings*

29. AN Khal-di-ni-ni ba-u-si-ni EN-śi-ni-ni i-e-s
*for the Khaldis-gods, the powerful, the lordly, I*

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30. YUME (?) L BIT-mu-ri-e kha-u-bi
*in a day ?* 50 *of Muris's house(s)* *captured ;*
ta-as-mu-u-bi
*I enslaved*

31. ha-se SAL lu-tu ni-ir-bi di-id gu-si
*the men (&)* *women ;* *of the gates* *the bronze-work (?)*
is-ti-ni-ni
*belonging to them*

32. si-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni KÛ-bi
*I removed. The cities* *I burned ;* *the country* *I devoured;*
ha-se SAL lu-tu
*the men (&) women*

33. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*I carried away* *to Biainas.* *Sarduris*
a-li-e
*says :*

34. bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di MAT A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di
*A second time on approaching the land of the son of Abilianis*

35. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi nu-na-bi
*the cities* *I burned ;* *the land* *I devoured.* *I marched,*
D.P. Mu-ri-i-ni-ni
*from Muris*

36. [D.P.] A-bi-li-a-ni-khi sa-tu-a-li AN RI-du-ri-ni-li
*son of Abilianis* *having exacted* *(due) to Sarduris*

37. ku-ri-li śu-lu-us-ti-bi śi-lu-a-di ma-ku-ri
*tribute* *I received homage.* *On the receipt* *of the gifts*

38. e-ir-tsi-du be-i-śi ha-al-du-bi me-si-ni pi-i
*of the land* . . . *I changed* *his* *name.*

39. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
*Sarduris* *son of Argistis* *says :*

40. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e i-na-ni
*For this people of Khaldis* *the following (?)*
tu-khi is-ti-ni
*captives* *of them*

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41. za-du-bi VIIMCL NISU UN-MES I MU
*I made :* 7,150 *men* *in one year*
a-li-ki
*partly*

42. za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi CCCCC
*I slew,* *partly* *alive* *I took ;* 500
ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi
*horses* *I carried off ;*

43. VIIIMCCCCCLX GUD pa-khi-ni XXVMCLXX
8,560 *oxen* (&) 25,170
LU su-se
*sheep.*

44. i-na-ni SARRU-e nu-na-bi me-i-a-li NISU a-śi-MES
*The king's city* *I marched as far as.* *The* *cavalry*

45. ir-bi-tu se-ri pa-ar-tu i-u
. . . ; *to the wild beasts they were carried off ;* *so*
MAT-ni-i as-u-la-bi
*the land* *I desolated.*

46. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-ni
*Sarduris* *says :* *For this people of Khaldis*

47. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
*these* (?) *conquests* (?) *in one year* *I have made.*

48. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-i-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
*To the Khaldises* *I prayed,* *the multitudinous beings,*

49. ka-ru-ni D.P. Ra-su-u-ni SARRU
*who have subjected* *Rasus* *king*
MAT Ru-i-si-a-ni-e-i
*of the Ruisianian*

50. MAT e-ba-ni-i-e ka-ru-ni D.P. Di-u-tsi-ni-ni
*lands,* *who have subjected* *Diutsinis*

51. D.P. I-ga-ni-e-khi-[ni] ALU . . u-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e
*son of Iganis* *of the land of the city of . . ukhis*

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52. te-qu-a-li D.P. AN [RI-du-ri-ni D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
*to the power of Sarduris son of Argistis.*

53. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s [a-li-e] [ulgusia-]ni e-di-ni
*Sarduris says : For the sake of [my life ?]*

54. a . . . si . . . . . ra-i-e
. . . . . .

3. *Tasmubi* is the verb corresponding to the noun (D.P.) *tasmus* (xxx, 17). The signification is made clear by l. 30, and my old translation of *tasmus* as "nobles" must be given up.

*Eirtsitu* must be the Ass. *irtsitu* ; the prefixed *e* makes it probable that it is a borrowed word, and l. 38 appears to fix its meaning. From it we have the verbal form *eirtsi-dubi*, XCVIM, 29, on which see note.

5. The gerundial *ustâ-li* "approaching", "entering", must have the force of an ablative absolute in this passage.

19. For *karuni* see above, XCIIIM, 1.

26. The natural interpretation of NISU AT-se NISU AT-AT-se would be "fathers (and) grandfathers". Cf. XCIXM, 2.

*Muris* must be a proper name since in the next line it is described as "him, the man", and the name itself occurs in l. 35.[1]

27. For *kui* see the bilingual LVIK. In xlix, 26, the squeeze shows that we must read *zadubi*, not *adubi*. Here, therefore, the literal translation would be : "all the fathers and grandfathers (?) I made the possession of the water." Does it mean that they were made water-carriers or that they were drowned ?

28. *Sekhalayani* seems to have the same root as *sekhiris* "living", but the natural rendering would be "former". Cf. *sekha-di*, lxxxvi, 25.

[1] Or has the expression "house of Muris" the Semitic sense of "family of Muris" ?

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30. The numeral is attached to BIT, not to the preceding word.

31. The bilingual texts have given us the signification of the Assyrian loan-word *niribi*, *nirbi*. *Nirbi-did* is a synonym of *bibu-did* (l, 25), *bibu* being the Ass. *bâbu*.

32. The ideograph gives us the meaning of its phonetically written equivalent *atu* in line 35.

35. The context makes the signification of *biduyas* pretty clear and thus explains the compound BIT *barśudi-biduni* (xix, 4, etc.). This will have been a double building, consisting of two chambers or two blocks. Hence in xxx, 16–18, *arûni mês ali* D.P. *tasmus bedi-mânu biduni ibirâni* will be: "he gave a multitude of slaves in bodies in two divisions. Cf. also xix, 11.

36. In lxxxvi, 13, *satûuli* must signify "demand"; ALU *sukhe istini satûuli pili* D.P. *Ildaruniani agûbi* "for this city which I have built requiring (it) I brought the water of the river Ildarunias".

37. *Satûali* is a gerund rather than a substantive and consequently my old translation of *śulustibi* ("imposed") must be amended.

The photograph shows that we must read *makuri* and not *nakuri*; the latter reading must be corrected in the passages in which it occurs. The word appears to be a compound of *ma* and *kuri* ("give").

40. Or *inani* may signify "for the city" as in l. 44.

44. The formula is found in xlix, 11, 12. *Meiali*, literally "to the border", must be used as a postposition corresponding with the Assyrian *adi*; "as far as the royal city." But see note on xcv, 11.

45. *Irbitu* looks like the borrowed Ass. *irbittu* "to the 4 (quarters)". The signification of *seri* was discovered by D. H. Müller, who pointed out that it had the same root as *se-khi-ris* "living". The discovery of the 3rd personal form in *-tu* is due to Dr. Belck. The photograph shows that we must read *asulabi* and not *asgalabi*.

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## XCVIm

D. Column III of the great stela (Face C)

The commencement is lost.

1. . . . is-ti-[ni ?] . . .
. . . *these* . . .

2. [D.P.] AN RI-[du]-ri-s a-li-e
*Sarduris* *says :*

3. us-ta-[a-di] MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di
*On approaching* *the land of Qulkhas*

4. [MAT-ni kha-u-bi ?] ALU . . sa-ni
*[the land I took ?]* *Of the city of . . sas*

5. ALU SARRU nu-śi . . . sa bi (?) SARRU . .
*the royal city* . . . . . .

6. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e-[ni]
*in the country of Qumakh-Khalis,*

7. [a]-gu-nu-[ni ma-]a-nu gu-nu-sa-[a]
*all the spoil* *by force*

8. kha-u-bi UN-MES-ra-ni SARAP-bi
*I seized ;* *the . . men* *I burned ;*

9. NISU ir-di-a-li MAT Bi(?)-kha-i
*the workmen* *of the land of Bi(?)khas*

10. is-ti-ni ma-nu za-as-gu-bi
*all of them* *I killed.*

11. DUP AN-BAR za-du-bi DUP-TE
*A tablet* *of iron* *I made ;* *a tablet*

12. śi-il-da MU-SA te-ru-bi
*śilda* *its name* *I set up.*

13. E-GAL-MES ALU-MES SARAP-bi
*The palaces (&)* *cities* *I burnt,*

14. khar-khar-su-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
*I dug up ;* *the land* *I devoured ;*

15. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
*the men (&)* *women* *I carried away.*

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16. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*Sarduris says :*

17. i-ku-ka-ni MU si-is-ti-[ni]
*The same year for the third time*

18. us-ta-di MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-e-di
*on approaching the land of the son of Oikhirus*

19. [F]I NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-ri
*2 governors for the district (?)*

20. ma-nu-li III a-e-ir-MES (?)
*the whole (of it) (&) 3 deputies (?)*

21. us-ti-ib-te za-du-u-bi
*for the government I appointed.*

22. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
*To the Khaldis gods the powerful*

23. MAT e-ba-ni ba-ad-gu-lu-bi
*the country I devoted,*

24. [I] UD-ME as-gu-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
*in one day I took ; the land I devoured ;*

25. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
*the men (&) women I carried away.*

26. ALU U-ra-ya-ni E-GAL
*In the city Urayas the palace*

27. si-di-is-tu-bi NISU ir-di
*I restored ; workmen*

28. is-ti-i-ni a-su-u-bi
*to it I sent.*

29. MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-ni-i NISU-si-a
*The people of the land of the son of Oikhirus*

30. is-ti-ni e-ir-tsi-du-bi
*there I settled (transported).*

31. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*Sarduris says :*

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32. a-li NISU ta-tu-khi za-du-bi
*The sum of the captives I have made :*

33. VIIIMC TUR-se na-khu-bi
8,100 *children I have taken ;*

34. IXMCX SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
9,110 *women I have carried away ;*

35. PAP XVIIMCC[X] NISU UN-MES
*in all* 17,210 *persons*

36. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
*partly I have let die,*

37. a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi
*partly alive I have carried off ;*

38. IMCCCCC ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi
1,500 *horses I have carried away :*

39. XVIIMCCC GUD pa-khi-ni
17,300 *oxen,*

40. XXXIMVIC LU su-se
31,600 *sheep.*

41. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*Sarduris says :*

42. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
*For this people of Khaldis*

43. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-o-si-ni-li
*these* (?) *conquests* (?)

44. su-śi-ni MU za-du-u-bi
*in one year I made.*

45. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi
*To the Khaldises I prayed,*

46. ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
*the beings multitudinous,*

47. ka-ru-a-li IV SARRU-MES
*after the subjugation of* 4 *kings,*

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48. MAT U-e-du-ri -e-ti-o-ni-i
*to the Ueduretians'*

49. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a-tsi-e
*land belonging,*

50. SARRU D.P. Ar-gu-qi-u-ni
*king Arguqius,*

51. SARRU D.P. Ka-a-ma-ni-u-i
*king Kamas also,*

52. SARRU D.P. Lu-e-ru-ni-u-i
*king Luerus also.*

53. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH MAT-ni a-dhu
*Length of life to the land may they decree.*

6. Qumakha is the Assyrian Qummukh, classical Commagene. The further specification of the district as Qumakha-Khalis, i.e. "Qummukh of the Halys", is interesting. The Qummukh of the Assyrian texts extended a good deal to the East; the western portion of the country is here defined as stretching to the Halys and as being under separate government.

9. Line 26 makes it clear that *irdiali* must mean "workmen". Perhaps it is the Ass. *ardu*; see XCIXM, 11.

12. Is *śilda* the word for "iron". The Greek σίδηρος, borrowed from Asia Minor, may be an example of metathesis In (Caucasian) Ude *zido* signifies "iron".

21. The signification of *ustibte* is fixed by lv, 3.

23. The general sense of *badgulubi* is settled by the context; what its specific meaning may be is uncertain. It seems to be a compound; cf. *qabqaru-lubi* (xli, 17).

30. *Eirtsidubi* appears to stand for the compound *eirtsidi-dubi* "I gave to the land".

51, 52. These two lines give us a new fact in Vannic grammar; the conjunction *ui* can be postfixed like Greek τε, Latin *-que*, Lydian *-k*, and Etruscan *-k* and *-m*.

53. For the form in *-dhu*, see note on XCIVM, 56.

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## XCVIIm

E. The fourth column of the stela (Face D), south side.

The commencement is lost.

1. . . . . si us-tu-u-ri
. . . . . *he has dedicated.*

2. . . . . [D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
. . . . [*Sarduris*] *son of Argistis says:*

3. [khu-ti-a-]di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
*By the grace* (?) *of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas*

4. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te
(&) *Ardinis, the gods of Biainas,*

5. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-di
*of the bull-like spirits, the mighty, the assemblage,*

6. MAT-MAT-MES-tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi-e
*who belong to all countries,*
kha-si-al me-e AN-MES
*may the gods hear me.*

7. IV (?) UD-ME kha-a-ri-e is-te-e-di us-ta-a-di
*In* 4 (?) *days in that campaign on approaching*

8. MAT Bu-lu-a-di-e-di si-a-bi ka-u-ki-e
*the land of Buluadis I contended against*

9. gu-nu-si-i-ni-e śu-u-i-du-lu-u-bi . .
*powerful forces ; [what] I seized*

10. a-su-u-bi pa-ri-e ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-e-[khi ?]
*I sent from the city of Libliunis.*

11. ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-ni ALU SARRU nu-śi
*Of Libliunis the royal city*
a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
*all the spoil*

12. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi DUP-TE is-ti-ni te-ru-u-bi
*by force I took. A tablet there I set up.*

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13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni KÛ
*The cities I burnt; the country I devoured;*
ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
*the men (&) women*

14. is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-u-bi E-GAL-MES is-ti-i-ni
*belonging to them I carried away. The palaces there*

15. si-di-is-tu-u-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e us-ma-a-se
*I restored for the Biainian gods.*

16. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-a U-i-na-a pa-khi-a-i-di
*To the Luluian pasturage where the cattle are*

17. MAT-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-di a-bi-li-du-u-bi
*in (certain) parts of the country I set fire.*

18. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e i-ku-ka-ni sa-a-li-e
*Sarduris says: The same year*

19. si-is-ti-ni us-ta-a-di MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
*the 3rd time on approaching the land of the son of Erias*

20. [MAT] e-ba-ni kha-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi
*the country I conquered; the cities I burnt,*
khar-khar-su-u-[bi]
*I dug up;*

21. MAT e-ba-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
*the land I devoured; men (&) women*
pa-ru-[bi]
*I carried away*

22. [MAT] Bi-a-na-i-di E-GAL-MES is-ti-ni si-di-is-tu-bi
*to Biainas. The palaces there I restored.*

23. MAT e-ba-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di a-bi-li-du-[bi]
*The country in (certain) parts I set on fire.*

24. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*To the Khaldis gods, the mighty, Sarduris*

25. a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni za-du-u-[bi]
*says: The sum of the captives of them I made (as follows):*

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26. VIMCCCCXXXVI TUR-se is-ti-ni-ni
6,436 *children* *belonging to them*
na-khu-u-bi
*I took ;*

27. XVMCCCCCLIII SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-u-bi
15,553 *women* *I carried away ;*

28. PAP XXIMIXCLXXXIX NISU ta-ar-su-a-[ni]
*in all* 21,989 *healthy persons (adults)*

29. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-LA a-gu-[bi]
*partly* *I let die,* *partly* *alive* *I took.*

30. MVICXIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES CXVI
1,613 *horses,* 116
ANSU A-AB-BA-[MES]
*camels,*

31. XVIMCCCCCXXIX GUD pa-khi-ni pa-ru-u-[bi]
16,529 *oxen* *I carried away ;*

32. XXXVIIMVICLXXXV LU su-se-MES pa-ru-u-bi
37,685 *sheep* I *carried away.*

33. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a
*Sarduris* *says :* *For the people of Khaldis*
is-ti-ni-e
*there*

34. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-u-bi
*these* (?) *conquests* (?) *in one year* *I made.*

35. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni gis-su-ri-e
*To the Khaldises* *I prayed,* *the beings* *multitudinous,*
ka-ru-ni
*who have subjected*

36. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e MAT-ni te-qu-ni
*of Qumakh-Khalis* *the land* *to the power* (?)
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
*of Sarduris*



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37. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
*son of Argistis, to Khaldis the giver,*
AN Khal-di-ni
*to the Khaldises*

38. gis-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-a-bi
*the multitudinous, the givers, I prayed*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-[ni]
*on behalf of Sarduris*

39. D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-khi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*son of Argistis. Sarduris says:*

40. D.P. Ku-us-ta-as-pi-li SARRU MAT Qu-ma-kha-al-khi-e
*Kustaspil king of the people of Qumakh*

41. a-ni-ya-ar-du-ni ma-nu-i a-i-ni-e SARRU is-ti-ni
*gave bribes (?) to every other king thereunto*

42. us-tu-ri D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
*neighbouring. Sarduris son of Argistis*

43. a-li-e khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di
*says: By the grace (?) of Khaldis the lord,*
AN IM-di
*Teisbas*

44. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te-e
*(&) Ardinis, the gods of Biainas,*

45. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-a-di
*of the protectors mighty the assemblage,*

46. MAT-MAT-MES-tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
*who belong to numberless lands, may the gods hear me.*
IV UD-ME KAS
*The 4th day in that*

47. is-te-di us-ta-di MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-ni-e
*campaign on approaching of Qumakha-Khalis*

48. MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU U-i-ta-ni ALU SARRU nu-śi
*the land, of the city of Uitas, the royal city,*

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49. a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
*all the spoil* *by force* *I took.*
ALU Kha-al-pa-ni
*Of the city of Khalpas,*

50. ALU SARRU nu-śi tsu-i-ni-i-si-ni ma-nu kha-u-bi
*the royal city,* *all the canals* *I took.*

51. si-a-bi ka-u-ki śu-lu-us-ti-bi te-ru-lu-bi
*I attacked ;* *I exacted homage ;* *I confirmed (his rule).*

52. a-ru-u me me-e-s L ma-na-e GUSQIN tu-a-gi
*Gave to me he* 50 *manehs* *of gold* *pure,*

53. VIIIC ma-na-e BABBAR IIIM TUG-MES IIM
800 *manehs* *of silver,* 3,000 *dresses,* 2,000
a-se-MES URUD
*ingots* *of copper,*

54. MCCCCCXXXV ki-ri URUD a-li i-nu-ka-a-ni
1,535 *vessels of copper ;* *the length of sacrifices*

55. e-di-ni a-gi bi-e-da-ni kha-ra-ri
*for the sake of,* *good-luck to the next campaign* (?)
a-dhu
*may they decree.*

5. The Sumerian *ala* "divine bull", "the protector" of a building, was borrowed by the Babylonians under the form of *alu* and by the Hittites under that of *alas* ; here we have evidence that it was also borrowed by Vannic with the help of the suffix *-ui*.

In *aliaba-di* I am now inclined to regard *-ba* as a suffix rather than as part of a compound word.

6. The signification of the suffix *-tsi* is clear here.

We now know that *mê* denotes the objective cases of the first personal pronoun and must be distinguished from *mei* "of him". In *khasi-al* I now see the 3rd pers. pl. of the precative. We learn from the bilingual lvi, 33, that *khasu-li* (for *khasi-u-li* ?) is "cause to hear". In Mitannian also *khasi* = "to hear".

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7. The signification of *khârie* is given by its ideographic equivalent in l. 46. Cf. the Sumerian *kharran*.

8. For *kaukie* see the bilingual LIIT, 13. It fixes the meaning of *siabi*. In xxxxvii, 11, accordingly, *siadi* will be "on attacking".

16. *Pakhia* can hardly be separated from *pakhi-ni* "oxen" and ought to signify "the place of oxen". Hence in *U-i-nâ*, with the territorial suffix *-na*, we must see the ideograph U, for which cf. note on lxxxvi, 9. Lulu was the district in which Armavir stood.

28. D.P. *tarsua*[*ni*] represent the non-combatants as well as the fighting men and must mean "the adults".

40. The Kustaspi of the Assyrian annals. He was (perhaps unwillingly) an ally of Sarduris in his war with Tiglath-pileser IV and subsequently attended the "durbar" of that king at Damascus after the capture of the city by the Assyrians in 732 B.C. The final *-li* seems to represent the Mitannian nominative *-l*.

41. *Aniyardani* seems to be a compound of an otherwise unknown *ani* and *aru* "to give".

The signification of *ainie* is given by the bilingual lvi, 30.

42. The specific signification of *ustu-ri*, from the same root as *usta-bi*, is fixed by the context.

48. Uitas is the Uetas of the Assyrian texts.

49. Khalpa is the Khalpi of the Assyrians, in the south-western part of Kummukh, where the Vannic army was defeated by Tiglath-pileser IV.

50. For *tsuini* "temple", Ass. *bit-ili*, see the bilinguals lvi and Topzawa. There was another *tsuis* which apparently means a "canal" or "reservoir".

52. Possibly *arû* is precative and we should translate "I established (i.e. ordained, *teru-lubi*): let him give". Cf. *askhu-me*, xxiv, 6.

The last syllable of *tu-a-gi* is clear in the photograph. On the other hand, in xlv, 20, 24, the reading is *tuaie* (if it is

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correct). I have supposed that the word was the phonetic representative of the preceding ideograph, but the suffixed *-gi* suggests the epithet "pure". At any rate it is "pure gold" that is meant. Since *agi* in l. 55 appears to be "good luck", perhaps *tu-agi* is a compound signifying "good gold" (*tua*).

54. *Kiri* is the Ass. *kîru*.

55. T 32 concludes: [*h*]*ali edini* RAK-KUR-*khini kharari* (*kharani* is an error) *ter-agi* "for the sake of the sacrifices to the frontier marches (?) good-luck!" The opening words of the great inscription of Argistis attached to the sepulchral chambers of the rock of Van (xxxviii, 2) are: *alie ini . . . nie azîbie inaini teragi* "It is said: to these [sepulchral] chambers of the city good luck!" Then comes the long historical text. *Ter-agi* is a compound like *ter-duli*, and would be literally: "good ordainment".

*Biedani* seems to be connected with *biduyas* "a second time".

*Kharari* is a derivative in *-ri* like *sekhi-ris*, etc., the stem apparently being *kharie* "road", "campaign". "*Kharani*" in LIIT (Vannic text) is a misprint for "*kharari*".

## XCVIIIM

F. On the pedestal on which the stela stands.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
*To the Khaldis gods the divine Sarduris*

D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e Ka-ma-a-ni ARAKH-ni
*son of Argistis says: In the month Kamas*

2. [t]a-ar-nu-ni NISU khu-ra-di-ni-li u-e-li-du-bi
*at the beginning (?) the soldiers I mustered.*

khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
*By grace (?) of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas*

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3. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te
(&) *Ardinis* *the gods* *of Biainas,*
a-lu-śi-ni-ni al-śu-u-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-a-di
*of rulers* *mighty* *the assemblage,*

4. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
*belonging to the land of Lulus,* *may the gods hear me.*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e u-la-di
*Sarduris* *says :* *In the midst*
MAT E-ti-u-ni-e-di
*of the country of Etius*

5. a-li as-ta-a-di MAT E-ti-u-ni-a is-ti-ni-i-e
*and* *the mountains* (?) *of the Etiunians* *there*
an-da-ni MAT E-ri-a-khi ha-al-du-bi
*the road* *to the land of Erias* *I changed :*
sal-ma-at-khi
*on the frontier*

6. MAT Qu-ri-a-ni-ni us-ta-di MAT I-ga-ni-i-e-di
*of the land of Qurias,* *on approaching* *the country of Iganis,*
AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
*to the Khaldises* *I prayed,* *to the spirits* *multitudinous,*

7. ka-ru-ni D.P. Qa-bu-ri-ni SARRU
*who have subjected* *Qaburis* *king*
MAT I-ga-ni-i MAT e-ba-ni-e AN Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
*of the country of Iganis,* *to Khaldis* *the giver,*
AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
*to the Khaldis gods*

8. gis-su-ṛi ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ni
*multitudinous,* *the givers,* *I prayed* *on behalf of Sarduris.*
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s a-li-e XXXV E-GAL-MES
*Sarduris* *says :* 35 *palaces,*

9. CC ALU-MES I UD-ME as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES
200 *cities* *in one day* *I took ;* *the palaces*

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khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni
*I dug up ; the cities I burnt ; the country*
a-tu-u-bi ha-se-MES
*I devoured ; the men*

10. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
*(&) women belonging to them I carried off*
MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri i-s a-li-e
*to Biainas. Sarduris says :*
i-ku-ka-a-ni
*The same*

11. KAS us-ta-di MAT Bu-ba-ni-a-i-ni-e
*campaign on approaching the country of the*
MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU Al-qa-ni-a-i-di
*Bubanaians (&) the city Alqaniais (&)*
ALU Tsu-da-la-di
*the city Tsudalas*

12. E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU MES SARAP-bi
*the palaces I dug up, the cities I burnt ;*
MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di
*the land I devoured. A second time on approaching*
MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
*the land of the son of Erias*

13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
*the cities I burnt ; the men (&) women*
is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi i-sa-a-ni bi-di-i-a-di
*belonging to them I carried off. On the second occasion*
us-ta-a-di
*on approaching*

14. MAT Is-te-lu-a-ni-gi-di MAT Qa-di-a-i-ni-e-di
*the wall of the land of Isteluas, the land of Qadiais,*
MAT A-bu-u-ni-ni-e MAT e-ba-ni-i-e-di
*the land of the Abunians*

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15. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*belonging to the son of Abilias* *Sarduris* *says:*
i-e-s NISU a-śi-MES ni-ku-u-li
*I* *the cavalry* *commander* (?)

16. u-i-e a-i-ni-e-i NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-u-ri
*along with the other* *officers* *of the army* (?)
ma-nu-u-ri us-ta-di NISU u-e-li su-śi-ni-e
*in its entirety on the approach* *of a single regiment*

17. MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-gi-di kha-u-bi
*to the wall of the land of Uelikus* *captured;*
MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-ni MAT-ni XXII E-GAL-MES
*in the land of the Uelikuians* *of 22* *palaces*
a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu
*all the spoil*

18. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi
*by force* *I took.* *The palaces* *I dug up;*
ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni a-tu-bi
*the cities* *I burnt;* *the land* *I devoured;*
ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
*the men* (&) *women*

19. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
*I carried away* *to Biainas.* *Sarduris*
a-li-e nu-na-bi ka-u-ki D.P. Ni-di-i-ni
*says:* *I marched* *against* *Nidis*

20. SARRU MAT U-e-li-ku-khi śu-lu-us-ti-bi
*king* *of the Uelikuians,* *I exacted homage*
NISU bu-ra-as-tu-u-bi me-si-ni pi-e-i
*I appointed (him) as governor;* *his* *name*
ha-al-du-bi
*I changed.*

21. me-s D.P. AN-RI-du-ri e a-ri-ne D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s
*He* *to Sarduris* *gave (gifts).* *Sarduris*
a-li-e i-ku-ka-a-ni MU si-is-ti-i-ni
*says:* *The same* *year* *for the third time*

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22. us-ta-di D.P. Ar-gu-qi-ni-e MAT-ni-di
*on approaching the country belonging to Arguqis*
ka-ru-bi D.P. Ar-gu-qi-i-ni MAT-ni-e
*I subjugated Arguqis's land,*
D.P. A-da-khu-ni
*Adakhus's*

23. MAT-ni-e D.P. Lu-ur-ru-ni MAT-ni-e D.P. E-su-mu-a-i
*land, Lurrus's land, the land of*
MAT-ni D.P. Ka-am-ni-u-i MAT e-ba-ni
*Esumuais, the land of Kamniuis,*

24. MAT Qu-ha-al-ba-ni MAT U-khu-ni-ni MAT-ni-e
*(&) the countries of Quhalbas (&) Ukhunis*
MAT Te-ri-a-ni MAT-ni-e XX E-GAL-MES
*(&) the country of Terias. Of 20 palaces*
a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
*all the spoil*

25. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi CXX ALU-MES I UD-ME
*by force I took ; 120 cities in one day*
as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES
*I captured ; the palaces I dug up ; the cities*
SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se
*I burnt ; the country I devoured ; the men*

26. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
*(&) women belonging to them I carried off.*
D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU UN-MES
*Sarduris says : All the persons*
GIS sur-gi-ni-ka-i-ni
*the altar for libations*

27. ku-lu TUR si-bi sa-tu-ni
*the holy place of the . . . youths who guarded,*
MAT Us-ki-a-ni MAT Ba-am-ni
*in the countries of Uskias (&) Bam,*

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ba-ad-gu-lu-bi za-as-gu-bi a-li-pi ku-lu
*I devoted (to the gods), I slew, while all the altar*
TUR si-i-bi
*of the . . . youths*

28. AN IM-s SARAP-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*the Air-god burnt. Sarduris says :*
se-e-ri ha-se SAL lu-tu
*To the wild beasts the men (&) women*
NISU a-śi-MES-u-e a-ru-bi
*belonging to the infantry I gave.*

29. D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi
*Sarduris says : The sum of the captives*
is-ti-ni za-du-bi XM TUR-s(e) na-khu-bi
*there I made :* 10,000 *children I took ;*
IVMVIC NISU TI-MES pa-ru-u-bi
4,600 *men alive I carried off*

30. XXIIIMCC SAL lu-tu-MES PAP XXXVIIMVIIIC
(&) 23,200 *women, in all* 37,800
NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki
*persons partly I put to death, partly*
TI-MES a-gu-u-bi
*alive I took ;*

31. IIIMCCCCC ANSU KUR-RA-MES XLMCCCLIII
3,500 *horses,* 40,353
GUD pa-khi-ni XXI a-ti-bi IVMVIIC
*oxen,* 21 *myriads* 4,700
LU su-se-MES D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
*sheep. Sarduris says :*

32. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-i-e i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
*For this people of Khaldis these(?) conquests (?)*
su-śi-ni sa-a-li za-du-u-bi
*in one year I made.*

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1. *Usma-sini* is a compound of the substantive verb *ma* and *us* which I have hitherto identified with *us* in *ustabi*, etc. *Us* is found in *us-gini*, which is translated by the Ass. *panipani* "sanctuary" (LVIK 20), and is clearly a compound of *us* and *gi* "a temple-wall"; also in *us-lani*, possibly "oracle" (LVIK 21). In lxviii, 3, we have *inani use us-ulmus* which perhaps signifies "the stated offerings of the gods of the city". At any rate, *us-(is)* must mean "divinity", "god", "spirit", or the like. Dr. Belck (*ZDMG*. lviii, p. 181) would make *aste* the complete word for "gods" and not merely its termination. Support for this would be found in *CT*. 25, 11, 31, where Astuwinu is stated to denote the twin deities Zamama and Mas in the language of Subari; the termination reminds us of the Greek dual *-ον*. *Kamas* is the first Vannic month the name of which has become known to us.

2. Professor Marr reads the first character as *ta* and connects the word with *taranis* "second".

5. With *astâ-di*, cf. *asta*, lxviii, 6, and *astiu* used in connection with the Etiunians, xliii, 42. The latter word, however, can hardly be separated from *astiu-iuni* (xxx, 21), which must mean "magazines" or something of the sort as they were captured along with horses and chariots.

6. For the country of Iganis see xxxvii, 11; xlv, 39. The photograph has *ga*, not *u*.

12. This passage gives us the signification of *biduyas*.

13. We find *bidia-di-bad*-MES in l, 18, "I obtained (?) the . . . of the fighting-men" (*gunusi-ni-ni*). Does the word mean "weapons"? *Isâni* does not occur elsewhere. In lxviii and xci, 7, *bidî* might signify "sacrificial instruments".

20. For *buras-tûbi* see below lv, 3, *sušinê ustibtini magûlani buras-tuli* "appointing a governor over this country under (?) a single administration".

22. This line fixes the signification of the verb *karu*.

26. GIS *surgini-kai-ni* is borrowed from Assyrian; it is literally "the (altar) for libations" (Ass. *surginu*).

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27. *Kulu* usually appears as *kulu-di* borrowed from the Ass. *kiludi*, but regarded, it would seem, as a native Vannic formation in *-di*.

For *satu-* "to keep", "guard", see my note *JRAS*. Oct., 1901, p. 650.

*Badgu-lubi* is a compound of *badgu-* and *lu-*. The context determines its sense.

The suffix *-pi* (or *wi*) in *ali-pi* was discovered and explained by Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG*. lviii (1904), pp. 844–6.

31. *Ati-bi* is probably related to *eti-bi* "more than", "exceeding".

## XCIXM

G (VI). On the southern wall of the western niche, at the back of the stela.

1. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
*To the Khaldis gods the mighty Sarduris*
D.P. Ar-gis-ti-e-khi-ni-s a-li-e
*son of Argistis says*

2. i-u AN Khal-di-is me XX tu-khi a-ru-u-ni
*thus: Khaldis to me 20 captives has given*
na-kha-a-di NISU AT-śi-ni e-śi-i XX tu-khi-ni
*when I took the place of the . . men. The 20 captives*

3. a-li ar-da-i-e-i-ni i-śi-u-s MAT Su-ra-a-ni-e-di-ni
*and slaves, chattels (?) from all the world*
tu-ru-u-bi XCII GIS GIGIR-MES
*I collected (?); 92 chariots,*

4. IIIMVICIV BIT-KHAL-LU-MES XXXV a-ti-bi
3,604 *war-horses,* 35 *myriads*
IIMXI NISU ZAB-MES e-ha
2,011 *soldiers as well as*
BIT-KHAL-LU-MES-e-i
*war-horses*

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5. e-ha NISU ZAB-GIR-MES-e-i i-na-ni ar-da-i-e
*as well as* *camp-followers* *for the service of the city*
na-ni-e-di-ni tu-ru-bi
*together* (?) *I collected* (?),

6. a-li i-śi-u-s ma-a-nu khu-su-bi CXXI NISU UN-MES
*& all the chattels* *I acquired ;* 121 *persons,*
XMCCCCVIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES
10,408 *horses*

7. CXXXII ANSU GIR-NUN-NA-MES XIIMCCCXXI
132 *mules,* 12,321
GUD-MES IXMXXXVI GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES
*oxen* 9,036 *draft-oxen,*

8. PAP [X]XIMCCCLVII GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES
*in all* 21,357 *draft-oxen,*
XXXVMCCCCLXVII LU su-se-e-MES
35,467 *sheep,*

9. IIMCXIV til-li-MES gu-nu-si-ni-e-i MCCCXXXII
2,114 *troops,* *powerful ones,* 1332
GIS-BAN-MES XLVIIMIXCLXX GIS-KAK-ti-MES
*bows,* 47,970 *arrows,*

10. CII a-ti-bi IIMCXXXIII ka-pi-se SUK-MES [I]CXI
102 *myriads* 2,133 *kapis of rations,* 111
a-qar-qi KARAN-MES LXXXVI a-qar-qi VII
*aqarqi* *of wine,* 86 *jars* 7
ne-ru-śi XX ka-li NI-MES
*neruśi* 20 *kali of oil,*

11. VIIMLXXIX ma-na-e URUD-MES CCCXXXVI
7,079 *manehs* *of copper,* 336
ARAD-MES NISU U-ru-ur-da-a-ni-e-di-ni tu-ru-u-bi
*slaves* *from Ararat* *I collected* (?)

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12. D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-ni D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-khi
*for Sarduris* *son of Argistis,*
SARRU DAN-NU SARRU al-śu-u-i-ni
*the mighty king,* *the great king,*

13. SARRU su-ra-a-u-e SARRU MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e
*the king of multitudes,* *king of Biainas,*
SARRU SARRU-MES a-lu-śi ALU Dhu-us-pa-e-ALU
*king of kings,* *lord of Dhuspas.*

2. Or is it "has given to him"?

The ideograph AT seems to be used here in the sense of "prince" or "judge"; but see XCVM, 26. Cf. Ass. (D.P.) AT-LIL "caulker".

3. *Ardaiei-ni* is the borrowed Assyrian word *ardu.*

*Iśius* would appear from the context to be "chattels" or something similar. It would be related to *iśi* "with" in the sense of "appurtenance".

*Suras* interchanges with the Ass. MAT-MAT-MES (*JRAS.* xx, p. 32), and consequently signifies "the world". Hence we cannot translate: *Surani edini* "for the sake of Suras"; cf. *nani-edini*, l. 5, and *Ururdâniedini*, l. 11.

4. *Nâni* is found in xli, 19, where the squeeze proves that it is correct. There it is preceded by *muru-muria-khi-ni* which may be the phonetic reading of NISU ZAB-GIR-MES. *Nanuli* in li (i), 5, is a misreading for *manuli.*

9. *Tilli* is borrowed from Assyrian.

10. With *kapis* cf. the Ass. *kuppusu* "grain-jar". The land measurement *kapi* must be the same word: see Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG.* lviii (1904), p. 843.

For *aqarqi* and its subdivision *khiruśi* see Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (1907), pp. 111–12. *Khiruśi* is here written *neruśi*; but since *ne* had the value of *ṭi* (*dhi*) in Vannic and *khi* (𒄩) had the same value in Assyro-Babylonian it is possible that the two words are identical.

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11. Possibly we should translate: "for Ararat". If so, in l. 3 it would be "for Suras".

## C

The following inscription was discovered by Professor Marr at Dash-Kerpi, near Lake Chaldir, north-east of Alexandropol, and published by him in the *Mémoires du Musée du Caucase*, 1919.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
*To the Khaldis gods the mighty*
2. D.P. AN RI-du-u-ri-i-s
*Sarduris*
3. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
*son of Argistis says*
4. i-u MAT U-khi-me-a-qa kha-u-bi
*thus: The land of Ukhimeaqa I have conquered.*
5. bi-(du)-ya-s i-ku-ka-ni KAS
*For the second time in the same campaign*
6. kha-u-bi ALU Ma-qa-al-tu-o-ni
*I took the city of Maqaltus;*
7. ha-se NISU u-e-di-a-ni
*the men who were adults*
8. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-na-i-di
*I carried away to Biainas.*

5. Professor Marr's reading is *bi-li-ya-s*. But the corresponding form *biduyas* (XCVM, 34, and XCVIIM, 12) indicates that *du* should be read. If *li* is right, it would have to be explained by the interchange of *d* and *l* in many of the Asianic languages which presuppose a sound similar to that of the Welsh *ll*.

KAS (*kharran*) is phonetically rendered *kharie* in XCVIM, 7, compared with XCVIIM, 8.

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## Nos. LV, LXXXII, LXXXIV

Not long before his death Professor Nikolsky was able to take photographs and squeezes of these three inscriptions with the result that the reading of them has been corrected and amended in several places.

No. LV. In l. 3 the reading is :—

su-śi-ni us-tí-ib-ti-ni ma-gu-u-la-ni bu-ra-as-tu-li
*one government under* (?) *having appointed a governor*

In *magûlani* we may have a compound with *ula* "middle".

l. 5. MAT Ar-qu-qi-i-ni IV SARRU-MES i-pa-ni
*of the land of Arquqis* the 4 *kings* *ipani*
ap-ti-ni tsu-i-ni-a
*who were called, the people of the lake.*

l. 6. MAT Sa-ṇa-dhu-a-i-ni.

l. 10. The country of Piruainis is identified by Nikolsky with the modern Aparan, Melainis with Mola, and Useduinis with Ushakan.

l. 12. i-pa-ni ap-ti-ni [D.P.] Ri-i-du-a-i-ni
*ipani* *who were called,* *belonging to Riduais*
MAT ba-ba-ni-a
*distant peoples*

l. 18. AN IM ALU MAT-[MAT]-MES . . .
*For Teisbas* *the city* *countries* . . .

No. LXXXII. There is no lacuna between ll. 3 and 4. For *Siriquqinê* read *Arquqinê*.

No. LXXXIV. l. 3 : . . . ma-a-lu [BIT] ha-ri su-u-i-ni. See No. lxxxv, 2.

l. 7. ba-di-ni-e AN [Khal-]di-[ni]
*To all the* *Khaldises.*

l. 14. . . śu-u-ni kha-dhu-bi is-ti-[ni]
. . . . *I cut off* *the boundary.*

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN BERLIN

On the 23rd January, 1926, there came into being the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst with headquarters in Berlin. The success of the Society is measured by the fact that on its third birthday it numbered no less than 1,000 members. The aims of the Society are to promote lectures and exhibitions, and to issue periodical and other publications. From the beginning of this year the periodical became merged with the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, which is now the official organ of the Society. The president is Dr. William Solf, German Ambassador at Tōkyō, the vice-president Dr. Herbert von Klemperer, and the chief secretary Professor Otto Kümmel. Among the officers and supporters of the Society are the leading German scholars and collectors interested in Asiatic art.

The most ambitious enterprise of the Society is the Exhibition of Chinese Art which opened on the 12th January and will close on the 2nd April. In this it is associated with the Preussische Akademie der Künste, and the loan of the Academy's galleries allows of a display on magnificent lines. Most of the famous collections in Europe and America are represented in the Exhibition, and there are some 1,300 objects drawn from more than 170 sources in thirteen countries. A catalogue is issued at the wonderfully cheap price of 3 marks, and it contains descriptions of 1,125 objects, each of which is represented with a miniature photograph. To an enlarged and revised edition, now in preparation, the later accessions will be added. The cosmopolitan scope of the enterprise extends to a series of lectures which are attracting large audiences. As at present arranged, the list is as follows :—

J. G. Andersson (Stockholm), "Prähistorische Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Nordchina und dem näheren Orient."



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G. Borovka (Leningrad), "Die russischen Grabungen in der Mongolei."

J. Hackin (Paris), "Die buddhistische Kunst in Afghanistan."

R. L. Hobson (London), "Ceramics of the Period Sung to the End of Ming."

B. Rackham (London), "The later Chinese Ceramics."

W. P. Yetts (London), "The Technique of Bronze Casting in Ancient China."

All mediums of artistic expression, except architecture, receive adequate representation in the extensive galleries of the Academy. The main basis of arrangement is chronological, and the ample space at the disposal of the organizers permits schemes of grouping without crowding and without prejudice to archæological and æsthetic standards. In fact, the difficult task of setting out the numerous and diversified exhibits has been achieved with signal taste and discrimination.

The range covered by the Exhibition is too wide for detailed discussion in a short notice; but one highly important feature must be mentioned. It is the presence of objects excavated from tombs in Northern Mongolia by the Kozlóv Expedition. A review of the report on these finds appeared in *JRAS.* for 1926, pp. 555–8, and I wrote a longer and illustrated account in the *Burlington Magazine* for April, 1926. Among the finds, few of which may be attributed to local origin, are products of Hellenic, Iranian, Scythian, Sarmation, Chinese, and ancient Siberian art. Their prime importance as clues to channels of cultural contacts between China and foreign countries has been generally recognized, as also their probable period. But not till July of last year was documentary proof discovered to support the surmise that the tombs dated from about the beginning of our era. An inscription scratched on the edge of the base of a lacquered bowl was then for the first time noticed by Professor Otto Kümmel, although the bowl had been repeatedly examined since it was excavated several years before. The inscription,

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as deciphered by Professor Kümmel, is as follows: 建平五年九月工王潭經畫工獲工宜天武省 "The ninth moon, fifth year of the *chien-p'ing* period [2 B.C.] Craftsman Wang T'an-ching; painter Huo; craftsman I; supervisor T'ien-wu." Few are able to travel to Leningrad, and the opportunity afforded in Berlin of seeing these well-preserved relics of 2,000 years ago is therefore specially welcome. They offer an illuminating supplement to the Han objects discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan and by Japanese archæologists in Corea.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

BERLIN,
31*st January*, 1929.

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## (1) ON *KUR.GI.ḪU*, *KURKÛ* = THE CRANE

*KUR.GI.ḪU*, *kurkû*, about which we know the following details: (1) it has been compared to the Syr. ܚܪܟܘܬܐ "crane" (Amiaud, *ZA*. iii, 46); (2) it occurs as far back as the Drehem texts, where it is mentioned with *UZ.BANDA* (duck ?), and doves (Delaporte, *RA*. 1911, 189),[1] and occurs in the later Assyrian texts of everyday life (e.g. Johns, *Ass. Deeds*, 1003 ff.) and late Babylonian contracts (see *SAI*. No. 5369). It is a bird proper to be offered to the gods (cf. Sargon, *Khorsabad*, 168), and so from this we may account it a bird valuable for the table; (3) its name perhaps comes from its cry, or possibly is connected with *kurkanû*, "turmeric," from its colour; (4) the medical receipts of *CT*. xxiii, 49, 2, and *KAR*. 182 (see *Ass. Med. Texts*, 102, 3) recommend practically every part of the young *kurkû*-bird to be used as a salve after being rendered down, which shows that it must be a fairly large bird and important as a source of grease.

We can thus define *kurkû* as a fairly large fat bird, sought after for the table, an ancient inhabitant of Mesopotamia, with a cry like *kurk*, or possibly related to the colour (saffron) of turmeric (*kurkanû*), and presumably from ܚܪܟܘܬܐ a crane.

[1] Cf. Scheil, *R.A.*, 1925, 50, period of dynasty of Ur.

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This old identification is apparently correct. Either *Grus communis* or *G. virgo* (the demoiselle crane) are probable candidates for the word, and I have often seen cranes (of some species) flying high over Mosul in the winter. The Arabs told me they were excellent eating, and this is said of the common crane in the Middle Ages in England, as "furnishing a dish fit for the table of princes" (*Penny Cyclopædia*, xii, 171). Both kinds of crane are in general appearance greyish, and this is the case of the exterior of the turmeric root (Rhind, *Veg. Kingdom*, 518), the interior being a deep, lively yellow. The cry of the common crane is said to be *coorr*, sufficiently near to *kurk*.

ܚܙܝܐ is used in Jer., viii, 7: Post (*Dict. Bible*, i, 516) says that in the absence of evidence in its favour, we must drop the crane from the fauna of the Bible. Payne Smith (*Thesaurus*) gives the meaning as *Grus* or perhaps *Hirundo*, mentioning the Gk. κίρκη, κίρκος. Dozy (*Supp.*) gives "cicogne" for كركى, but there is no doubt that the Mesopotamian Arab means "crane" when he uses this word.

The goose, with its cackle, and the use made of its grease, certainly rather suggests itself for *kurkû*, and I had, I confess, thought that *kurkû* might be some bird such as the ruddy shelldrake (*Tadorna casarca*, L.), with a usual note *kark* or *kape* (Howard Saunders, *Manual of British Birds*, 410), thus connected with *kurkanû*, or even the Brent Goose (*Bernicla brenta*, Pallas), with a call-note *cronk* or *honk* (Saunders, 400). But on my revisiting Mosul in 1927, the striking appearance of the cranes together with the Arab view of their delicacy as food, went some way towards convincing me that there was every reason to accept *kurkû* as "crane".

## (2) ŠIKKÛ = " CAT "

None of the words *šikkû*, *piazu*, *aiṣu*, *ḫumṣiru*, has as yet been satisfactorily settled, although Ebeling in his translation of the text *KAR.* 174 (*Die bab. Fabel*, 42) suggests "Maus (?)"

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for *piazu*, which is right, but unnecessarily cautious. For *šikkû* he says: "was *šikkû*, das mehrfach vorkommt (vgl. z. B. *MA.* 1025*b*) für ein Tier bezeichnet, ist noch nicht mit sicherheit zu sagen. Es scheint in Bewässerungsrohren zu leben, s. ebenda, also eine Ratte?"

I confess I see no difficulty in determining at least two: *piazu*, which can go down the snake's hole must be a mouse, and the *šikkû*, from which it flees must be the cat (not a rat): *piazu lapan šikkî ina ḫurri ṣiri eruba umma mušlaḫḫu išpuranni šulmu*, "The mouse went into the snake's hole with the cat at its heels, saying 'a snake-charmer has sent me (with?) Greeting'."

Again, on p. 44, *AN.NIN.PIŠ lapan kalbi ina namṣabi . . ., kalbu kî išḫiṭ-ma ina bâb namṣabi . . ., AN.NIN.PIŠ ištu namṣabi u-ṣa(?) . . .* "The cat [fled] before the dog into the gutter; when the dog leapt up . . . at the opening of the gutter the cat laughed (?) from the gutter [at him]." It can hardly be "rat (?)" as Ebeling suggests. The two passages are clear: the translation for *šikkû* is clearly "cat", the idea of hostility between cat and dog being as common in the East as with us: cf. the late Hebrew magical charm (*PSBA.* 1907, 287). "For hate: take the egg of a black hen and boil it in urine and give half of it to a dog and half of it to a cat, and say: 'As these hate one another, so may hatred fall between N., son of N., and N., son of N.'" For the cat going into a pipe (*ḫallalaniš*), cf. *Sarg. Ann.*, 336. Interesting, therefore, is the Sumerian *AN.NIN.PIŠ* = *šikkû*, "cat," in relation with *PIŠ* = *piazu* "mouse" (as above): *AN.NIN.PIŠ* will mean "Mistress of the Mouse", an amusing title; equally so *AN.NIN.PIŠ* = *šarru ša imḳi* (*Br.* 11103) "king of wisdom", the traditional view taken of the cat. In my *Devils*, 1, 155, l. 216, *kima šikkê asurrâ uṣṣanu šunu* "(the devils) make the wall to stink like cats" (like cats all over the world, not "mice", as I had it); and still more K. 3200, Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, 51, 14, the protecting deities of Erech (i.e. the lion-colossi) turn to *šikkê* (cats, smaller editions of

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themselves), and go out through the gutters. Interesting is the animal *šikkû sammatum rabitum* (Gadd, *CT*. xxxix, 27, 15) "a great odorous cat", and the omen ibid., l. 16, "If a cat *ša ḫu[p]-pi šaknat(at)* (I am indebted to Mr. Gadd for deciphering the broken character) appears in a man's house" (general harm to the house will follow). *Ḫu-up-pat ênâ*[II] (*KAR*. 182, r. 10, which explains *ḫup-pi eni* of *CT*. xviii, 24, 4, Holma 17) at once shows what is meant by *ḫuppi*: it is the "blindness" of the new-born kitten, merely the closed eyelids (ﺑﺼﺮ texit, occaecavit). Another kind is the *šikkû kišti* "cat of the woods". "If Adad lets his voice resound like a cat of the woods" (K. 2619, Del. *HWB*., 50), presumably a panther or similar.

In a medical text, *AM*. 34, 1, 17, we have *šikkû EDIN.NA* ("of the field"), for which both *šikkû* and *aiṣu* (*SAI*. 396) are the equivalents. In *CT*. xxxv, 5, *ši-ik-ku-u, nam-maš-tu nam-maš-šu-u, ḫa-ma-aṣ-ṣi-ru, pi-a-zu* are all given as equivalents of the sign *PEŠ, PIŠ*. *Humṣiru* (*Br*. 11936) must be a variant of *ḫamaṣṣiru*. *Šikkû*, however, is not given elsewhere as a value for *PIŠ, PEŠ*, or equivalent of the others (I take it, of course, that *piazu* is not the same as *aiṣu*), and I think it must be a mistake; *PIŠ* so definitely = *piazu* ("mouse"), *ḫumṣiru*, while it is *AN.NIN.PIŠ* which is *šikkû* ("cat"). The remaining values must be for mice and such small deer.

*Nammaštu, nammaššû* are generally accepted as רמש "creeping things"; *nammaštu* is defined in Gadd, *CT*. xxxviii, 44, as *n*. of the field (*ṣeri*), of the land (*kidi*), of the hills (*šadî*), of the water (*mê*), which suggests a rat, if some definite animal is required. ܪܡܫܐ "ichneumon," is a possible comparison. *PIŠ.*UR.RA* "mouse of the roof" occurs *AM*. 66, 6, 3 (No. 419)[1]: 73, 2, 7 (No. 182); 90, 1, 4, and 11 (No. 244), and it is tabu to eat its flesh on the seventh day lest the eater fall sick of *aḫḫazu* (*KAR*. 147, rev. 8). *PIŠ eḳli* "field-mouse", *KAR*. 194, 2. The gall of the mouse s prescribed *AM*. 4, 1, 3.

[1] These numbers refer to my forthcoming translations.

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### (3) *KAMUNU* = "RED WORMS"

It is proper here to discuss *UZU.DIR* (= *kamunu*), lit. "red flesh", for which "mouse" (Hunger, *Tieromina*, 106) has been suggested, a view with which I cannot agree. There are three kinds, *kamunu* simply, *kamun šadî*, and *kamunu ṣêri*, and an omen is taken from the appearance of the first two in the land (Virolleaud, *Adad*, iii, 19). "If *kamunu* appears in a desert place," that desert will be inhabited: if one appears in an inhabited house, that house will be ruined (Boissier, *Choix*, 2). The word occurs near "snake" and *anzuzu*: and in other omens *kamun ṣêri* may appear in a house, street, or latrine. *Kamunu* appeared in the court of the Temple of Nabû (Harper, *Letters*, iv, 367).

Its use in medicine in *AM*. 57, 3, 10, No. 89, with alkali, roses, and salt, as well as in a similar fashion in *KAR*. 186, rev. 22, *kamunu* with *arzallu* (*Crataegus Azarolus* ?) and **Solanum* as ointment, and ib., obv. 9, *kamun šadî* with gall-apples (?), also an ointment, is indicative. If it were so large an animal even as a mouse we should have been told what particular part to use. It is clearly some living thing which is of a nature to be pounded up whole with these vegetable drugs, and from this and from its name "red flesh" I suggest the ordinary red worm, as distinct from *tultu*, the white maggot of corruption.

In the birth omens "if a woman bears *ibi ša kamuni*" (K. 8274, 17, Dennefeld, 33), *ibi* may perhaps be connected with دحا *crassus*, *tumidus* (i.e. a bunch of worms ?).

R. Campbell Thompson.

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## NOTES ON THE PHILADELPHIA AND YALE TABLETS OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC

In the *Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the University Museum, Philadelphia, vol. x, pp. 211–20, and plates lxiii–lxviii, I published and edited Tablet II of the old Babylonian edition of the *Gilgamish Epic*. From the same

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source the Yale Babylonian Collection obtained Tablet III, which was published and edited by Jastrow and Clay, *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*, vol. iv, 3. Both tablets carry three columns on the obverse and reverse respectively. Inasmuch as Jastrow with the help of Professor Chiera claimed to have found a good many errors, and their corrections were unfortunately accepted on their face value by some scholars, it appears to be necessary to indicate the corrections which are correct and those which are incorrect. I have re-examined the Philadelphia tablet by means of the photographs and a collation of all disputed points by Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. I am bound to confess that I fail to understand how so many erroneous corrections could have been made, after the correct copy was before these two scholars, and even when the corrections make impossible grammatical constructions. The following notes reveal the true condition of the text.

Col. I, 5. *id-da-tim* is right. J. and C. *iṭ-lu-tim* is wrong. Also Ebeling in Gressmann's *Alt-orientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 186, 5, erroneously " zwischen den Mannen ".

I, 6. *ka-ka-bu* is probably right, against my *ka-ka-'a*.

I, 7. The reading *ki-iṣ-rum* is impossible. Text exactly like my copy. Correct also Ebeling, ibid., l. 7.

I, 10. Text probably *UNU-ki*, against my *ad-ki*.

I, 15. *mu-di-a-at* is right, but *BA* above *DI* has the perpendicular shaft extending downward between *DI* and *A*.

I, 20. Text *ta-mar-šu-ma* [illegible] *-ta-ḫa-du at-ta*. Damaged sign in no case *GIM-SAL*. Reading *muš-ta-ḫa-du* possible? In any case a derivation from *ḫadû* is certain ; cf. l. 32.

I, 22. At end my copy is right, but *šu* should be shaded. Jastrow and Chiera's text false, also Ebeling's translation.

I, 23. Text *ta-tar-ra-aš-šu*. *SU* of J. and C. false.[1]

I, 24. Text as in my copy. Most likely *it-ti-lam-ma*, from *na'ālu*.

[1] Ungnad's suggestion, *ZA*. 34, 17, to read *tatarrassu* from *ṭarādu* is equally false. The verb is *arû*. See Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 198, 36.

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I, 32. Reading is *aḫ-ta-du* against my copy.

Col. II, 4. Text, *ùr . . . ḫa-mu di su um lu-un.* J. and C.'s text *di-da-ša* (?) *ip-ti-*[*e*] is false. *dup-lu-un*, naturally possible. The text is [illegible] *-lu-un.*

II, 5. Text as in my copy. *am* is clear, J. and C. wrong.

II, 11. *a-na-ṭal-ka* not *a-na-tal-ka* as Jastrow reads.

II, 13. *ta-at-ta-na-al-la-ak* as my copy.

II, 19. No traces of *gi* or *ma* on the tablet. My copy is right. J. and C. wrong.

II, 20. Last sign as my copy. *ma* not *šu*. Copy of line is right.

II, 31. My copy is right. *ga-az-zu*. J. and C. wrong.

II, 32. *ki-ma LU* ? i.e. *immerim* ? In no case *AN*. My copy is correct.

Col. III, 21. No sign legible between *šu* and *ta* or *it*. Traces as I gave them.

III, 30. My text is right, *iš* not *uš*. J. and C. wrong. *iššakpu SIB-me-eš mu-ši-a-ti* (not *tim*). Read *re'î* "shepherds". In no case is the plural *re'ûti* ! Lines 28–31, "He seized his weapon, attacking the panthers (*labî ugirri*), which fall upon [1] shepherds in the night, and he gave respite to the wild mountain goats." *uttapiš* probably from *napāšu*. In no case can Jastrow's interpretation be correct. See Ungnad, *ZA*. 34, 18 ; Ebeling, ibid., 188, l. 111.

III, 33. *it-ti-lu na-ki-di ra-bu-tum* "The great shepherds reposed", with Jastrow. My copy is right, but translation wrong.

III, 35. My copy is probably right ; *wa-ru-um*. In no case *giš-ru-um*. Legrain thinks the sign may be *pa-*(*ru-um*).

Reverse I, 11. The first word is *mi-nu* not *lim-nu*. Copy right. The last sign *ka* ? against my copy, but uncertain. According to Legrain, the text is *mi-nu a-la-ku-ka* (?) *na-aḫ-*[ ]*-ka* (?) "How is *thy* way (of life) . . ." Also Ebeling, ibid., 188, 141 is wrong.

I, 14. After *tim*, *ik* most uncertain.

[1] Cf. *sukip mûša-šu*, *RA*. 16, 92, No. 54, 6.

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I, 16. Text uncertain. Copy right so far as possible, but *kal-lu-tim* is most probable.

I, 18. Second sign is *la*, not *ad*. *e-mi-sa* (J. and C.) is erroneous. *uk-la-at* may be right (J. and C.), but my copy is otherwise right. Jastrow's translation and text impossible. Ebeling's rendering of I, 16–18 = Gressmann, ibid., 188, 146–8, is certainly false.

Rev. II, 11. My copy is right. *si-ma* (J. and C.) is false. A reading *e-ṣi-*[*im-ta*], with Ebeling, ibid., 188, 181, probable. All traces precise in copy.

II, 12. *i-pa-ak-ka-du* is probably right against my copy. Legrain, . . . *ak ?-du*.

II, 18. *ip-ša-nu* is right. J. and C. *uršanu* "leader", Ebeling, *uršanu* "bed", all false.

II, 19. My copy *i-tu-ru*; J. and C. *i-šá-ru*. Sign is doubtful. Legrain favours *šar*.

Rev. III, 31. Last sign is possibly *ka*, with J. and C. My copy *su* is erroneous.

*šu-tu-ur e-li* . . . at the end may well be part of the old Babylonian title of the Epic, "He is made more excellent than . . .," as Ebeling renders it. In no case is Jastrow's interpretation correct.

## The Yale Tablet

l. 21. *ru-ḫu-tam* is for *ru-'-tam* "friendship". (Also Ungnad.)

l. 87. *dadamia* "my muscles". (Also Ungnad.)

ll. 107 and 194. *nu-ma-at kištum* "The forest stretched far away (for 10,000 double hour marches)", with Ungnad. *numat* is naturally from נוי, Arabic *nawâ*.

l. 265. Read *ku-uš-da*, Imp. of *kašādu*. (Also Ebeling.)

l. 268, *i-na mit-lu-ti-ka* ? and l. 269, *nâdu* "leather pouch" (with Ungnad).

l. 271. Supply [*ù*] "and" ? i.e. *ù taḫasas*.

l. 274. [*aḫ ip-*]*la-aḫ lib-ba-ka du-ug-la-ni*.

S. Langdon.

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# OBITUARY

## R. de Kérallain

Le 5 septembre 1928 est mort, dans sa 79e année, M. René Prigent de Kérallain qui, plus que tout autre, a utilement travaillé à faire connaître en France des écrivains qui sont parmi les plus distingués de la Grande Bretagne. Il a traduit, avec un rare bonheur de vocabulaire et de syntaxe, le livre de Frederick Pollock, *Introduction à l'étude de la science politique*, les ouvrages de H. Summer-Maive, *Essais sur le gouvernement populaire*, *Etudes sur l'histoire du droit*, *Le droit international*, *La guerre*. Mais son livre de prédilection fut les *Asiatic Studies* d'Alfred Lyall avec lequel il entretint une longue et intime amitié. Sa traduction, sous le titre *Etudes sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême-Orient*, contient des introductions et des notes du plus grand mérite.[1] M. de Kérallain laisse beaucoup d'ouvrages et de notes sur l'histoire ancienne et moderne du droit et de la navigation : il était le neveu de Bougainville. Personne en France n'a mieux connu l'anglais et l'Inde ; personne n'a mis, au service d'idées plus saines, un esprit plus incisif. La mort de Barth, dont il fut longtemps, en sa Bretagne, le compagnon, avait été pour lui une perte cruelle.

L. V. P.

[1] Tous ces ouvrages dans *Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions*, E. de Boccard, 1 rue de Médicis, Paris.

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. I, Part I. By SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D. 13½ × 10. pp. xvi + 510.

With the exception of Vol. I, Part III (by Professor Turner), which will contain a comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, the Report on the Linguistic Survey of India on which the author has been engaged for upwards of thirty years is now complete. The necessity for such a work was urged by the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886. Twelve years later the Government of India decided to undertake the linguistic survey of the whole Indian Empire except Burma and part of the peninsula area.[1] Sir George (then Mr.) Grierson, who was pre-eminently qualified for the task, was placed in charge of it.

His first concern was to obtain an exhaustive list of all the languages and dialects current in every district and state in the area dealt with. His next was to collect specimens of all these forms of speech. These included (i) a translation into each vernacular of the parable of the prodigal son and a standard list of words and test sentences and (ii) a piece of local folklore taken down verbatim from the lips of a native speaker of the language and translated word for word into English. Everything possible was done to ensure the complete accuracy of these specimens, which formed the raw material on which all the subsequent work was based. The specimens of each speech-form were subjected to close analytical study in order to arrive at a conclusion as to its status (as a language or dialect) and the linguistic family or sub-family to which it appertains. A classified scheme of linguistic families, sub-families, languages and dialects was then prepared; and the

[1] As a matter of fact all the more important languages in the peninsula area were eventually dealt with. An independent linguistic survey of Burma is now in progress.

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specimens were arranged accordingly, and edited with the necessary notes, bibliography and explanatory memoranda, a skeleton grammar, and a review of the mutual affinities of the component parts of each group. The magnitude of the task is shown by the fact that in all 179 languages and 544 dialects (belonging to four distinct linguistic families) were dealt with. For three years Sir George Grierson had as his collaborator Professor Sten Konow, who is responsible for about six of the twenty bulky volumes forming the Report. The rest, with the exception already mentioned, is from Sir George's own pen. The whole work discloses remarkable powers of analysis, deduction, and classification ; and it may be regarded as having settled finally all questions regarding the status and classification of the languages and dialects dealt with.

Part I, with which we are here concerned, and which had necessarily to be left to the end, opens with a review of the work done by previous workers in the field of Indian philology. The author then describes the way in which the Survey originated and the methods followed in the collection, verification, classification, and editing of the linguistic specimens. Finally he gives a remarkable clear and comprehensive review of the ascertained facts. In the scheme of classification adopted in the final review two important changes have been made from that in the previously published volumes. The first is the recognition of the Tai and Tibeto-Burman languages as cognate branches of a more comprehensive organism known as the Tibeto-Chinese family. The second is the definite separation of the Muṇḍā from the Dravidian languages, thereby confirming the views of Max Müller which had been called in question by Hahn.

The Dravidian languages have no known affinity with those of any other family, but the Muṇḍā together with the Mōn-Khmēr languages of Further India are branches of the Austric linguistic family. The recognition of this family is due to the genius of Pater Schmidt. Its speakers, though not

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now very numerous, are found diffused over an exceptionally wide area, stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island, off the coast of South America. The mutual relationship of some of these languages is, at first sight, not very obvious. Thus the Muṇḍā languages, like the Dravidian, are agglutinative; they have three genders and three numbers, and an extraordinary wealth of suffixes, while Khāsī (of Assam) is monosyllabic; has only two numbers and genders, and its help-words are invariably prefixes.

Though the Muṇḍā languages are now spoken only in a small tract in the heart of India, they formerly extended northwards into the Himalayan area, from Kanāwar on the west to Darjeeling on the east. Many of the Tibeto-Burman languages now current in this extensive tract show clear signs of a Muṇḍā substratum, which is specially noticeable in the extensive use of pronominal suffixes in the conjugation of the verb. There is also a Muṇḍā substratum in the Dravidian Telugu of North Madras.

It is in regard to the Tibeto-Burman languages that the Survey has broken most new ground. Of 132 languages examined, grammars and vocabularies had previously been compiled only for about twenty; most of the others had never previously been put in writing. All the Tibeto-Chinese languages were once agglutinating, but some of them are now isolating—the old prefixes and suffixes have worn away, and each word is now a monosyllable, the modification of which can be made only by the addition of some other word which has a distinct meaning of its own. In some of the languages these secondary words are losing their significance as separate vocables, and are becoming mere prefixes and suffixes; and thus the agglutinating principle is again superseding the isolating. Many Tibeto-Chinese languages are characterized by the use of tones—the same monosyllable may have as many as six different meanings according to the acoustic pitch given to it. These tones may be the survival of prefixes which have disappeared.

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The three linguistic families already mentioned, though they claim about four-fifths of the total number of languages dealt with, are spoken only by one-fifth of the population. The remaining four-fifths speak Indo-Aryan languages: these predominate everywhere except in the South and certain hilly tracts in the centre and on the northern and eastern borders.

Though the number of Aryan languages is small, there is a great wealth of dialects. In the past, the difference between one language or dialect and another had often escaped notice, as, in spite of great divergencies of idiom and construction, the vocabularies are generally very similar. Thus, the term Hindi was formerly regarded as connoting a single language spoken throughout the Gangetic valley from Bengal to the Punjab. Sir George shows that it really includes three distinct languages: (1) Bihārī, which is more nearly allied to Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya than it is to the more westerly forms of speech; (2) Eastern Hindī, which is highly synthetic with a complicated system of conjugation; and (3) Western Hindī, which has "hardly any grammar at all, and the verb has but one real tense and two participles". Lahndā, which was formerly thought to be a form of Punjabi, is shown to be an entirely distinct language.

Hoernle had already pointed out that the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are divided into two main branches, an inner and an outer. He concluded that there must have been two separate invasions of tribes speaking Aryan languages and that the speakers of languages of the inner group are descended from the later invaders, who penetrated like a wedge into the area already occupied by the earlier. Sir George accepts the theory of an earlier and a later invasion, but thinks it uncertain whether the later invaders entered the central area, or whether, finding it already occupied by cognate tribes, they worked their way round them.

It is impossible in a brief review to mention more than a few features of a great work like this, but mention must

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at least be made of the Dardic or Piśāca languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. A flood of light has been thrown on the remarkable characteristics of these archaic languages, of which previously very little was known. Sir George holds that they were brought to India by a third group of invaders who came later than those already mentioned and whose speech had acquired certain Eranian characteristics before they left Persia.

Sir George's great work has brought him widespread recognition, culminating in the Order of Merit, an honour which had never before been conferred for service in the Indian sphere.

E. A. G.

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THE SAUNDARANANDA OF AŚVAGHOṢA. Critically edited, with notes, by E. H. JOHNSTON. 10 × 7, xvi + 171 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928. Panjab University Oriental Publications.

This edition of the *Saundarananda* is extremely welcome, as much work that needed assimilating has been done since the *editio princeps* of MM. Haraprasad Shastri, and owing to the state of the MSS. still more will be wanted. Mr. Johnston has aimed at giving a complete description of the material available, so as to facilitate further work by others on the text, and to provide as good a text as possible. So far as one can judge, this work has been carefully and ably done, and criticism will depend upon a number of detailed points. The notes are not confined to critical questions, and they are sometimes so concise that it is not easy to follow the editor's thought. Cowell's *Aṅgiras*, he says, should be *Āṅgirasa*. As a matter of fact the text may be either. Would it not be as well to say why Cowell was wrong, not in his reading, but his interpretation?

There is a nest of problems in the list of disciples in xvi, 87–91. The editor says that he has only noted those not in

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the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*. He has also used a list of nearly thirty mahāśrāvakas in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, from which further conclusions might have been drawn. In that list the first five are the well-known five disciples who were first converted. Four of them are here, and we should certainly expect the fifth, *Bhadrika*. Why should he not be Bhadrāyaṇa, whom the editor says he cannot trace? The variance, natural in verse, would be parallel to Kappiya and Kappāyana in the Pāli. Nor can he trace Dhautakin. Why not Dhotaka? This looks a more likely guess than Dhammika or even than Dhautodhana, by which presumably Dhautodana is meant. The well-known Dravya (Dabba) is not even in the index. Nor is the name which is implied in *saśaivala*. But if the Pāli Sīvali is sanskritized and vṛddhied we get *śaivala*, and this in the dual with the prefix *sa-* gives the required form. This also throws light on *sa kapphinaḥ* in 90, where *sa* is not the article, but should be joined as prefix. The extraordinary Vupāli gets no note, nor does the preceding Nandaka-nandamātā. What seems to be wanted is to join the two words again, and then we get a normal dual (*-mātāv*) and also the normal form of Upāli's name. Nandamāta may be corrupt. The difficulty is hardly removed by identifying him with a Pāli lady Nandamātā. The editor also thinks that Kṣema and Sujātavatsa are ladies, not because of anything in the Sanskrit, but apparently because all he could find in the Pāli are Khemā and Sujātā. And what sort of a compound is Kṣemājito? All other such compounds in the list are duals. He is probably right in not taking Vatsa (Pāli Vaccha) as a separate name, as the Calcutta edition does. Kondeya (Kaundeya?) he has not traced. It has every appearance of being not a separate name but a patronymic, and belonging to the following name Kāpya. One reason for this is that we then get exactly sixty names. Is it not significant that not long before, so the legend says, Buddha had sent out sixty disciples to preach? The editor is doubtful whether Kṛmila is the Pāli



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Kimbila. But Kṛmila occurs here along with Nanda and Aniruddha, just as Kimbila in the Vinaya with Nandiya and Anuruddha. What makes it practically certain is that in the Pāli Kimbila also occurs as Kimila, and this makes the emendation Kṛmiśa, who is said to be a beneficent Yakṣa, still less likely. We can thus find all the names in the Pāli without, however, being certain that they always correspond, and a better knowledge of Aśvaghoṣa's sources will doubtless give more light.

The editor hopes some day to supply a translation, to which we shall look forward as another stage in the interpretation of the poem.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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THE GODS OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM: Their history, iconography, and progressive evolution through the Northern Buddhist countries. By ALICE GETTY, with a general introduction on Buddhism translated from the French of J. Deniker. Illustrations from the collection of H. H. Getty. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, lii + 220 pp. 2nd ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928.

When the first edition of this work was reviewed in these pages, it was welcomed as a successful attempt to fill the gap in works on the iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The present edition has been revised and some further divinities added, as well as illustrations. One of these is a fine coloured plate unfortunately termed "Bhaiṣagyaguru and his *parivara*". There are three references to Bhaiṣajyaguru in the index, but this one has been overlooked in revising the index. A new divinity in this edition is said to be Mahā Māyūrī, "the deification of a magic formula called 'the Golden Peacock Charm'". It is not clear, however, why the author should try to link her with the Jātaka in which the golden goose gave a golden feather to his former family. In this tale there is neither peacock nor

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spell, nor mention of a "sun-bird". Is not a more likely connection with the Peacock Jātakas (Nos. 159, 491), where the actual spell as uttered by the golden peacock to the sun is given? It would be interesting to know what relation it has to the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* in the R.A.S. collection, and the Kanjur. The illustration accompanying it shows a pinky-cheeked goddess dressed in green, though here and on p. 127 she is called Sarasvatī. Yet in the text Sarasvatī's colour is said to be white and Mahā Māyūrī's green. Is the author aware that Māyūrī is merely an adjective, and that her name is really Māyūrī Vidyā?

The illustrations still remain confined to those from the collection of Mr. H. H. Getty. Although it is a wonderful collection, it can hardly be said to be adequate to illustrating a work that claims to include all the fairly important deities, and to give their history and evolution. As the author disclaims a knowledge of Sanskrit it would not be fair to analyse her use of the texts or the spelling of words, but it would have been prudent to have had the aid of a Sanskrit scholar in revising the marking of the letters in the Sanskrit words used in the text.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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GOTAMA THE MAN. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A. 7 × 5, pp. 302. London: Luzac and Co., 1928.

THE MILINDAPAÑHO. Edited by V. TRENCKNER. (Photographic reprint with general index by C. J. RYLANDS, and an index of gāthās and thematic table of contents by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS.) Forlong Fund, vol. v. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 466. Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.

The first of these works deals with Buddha and his message, or, as Mrs. Rhys Davids prefers to call him, Gotama. There is no doubt of the seriousness of the criticisms contained in it, not only for professed Buddhists, but for all who look upon authoritative expositions of Buddhism as reproducing the

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original teaching. Buddha speaks in the first person. "That the Man himself should, as living man, here tell his message, as well as all that tended to produce that super-growth may prove to be a way of showing the truer things that lie beneath." Whatever is to be understood by these words, the whole has to be taken as a restating and correcting of the usual views, and in some cases even of Buddha's own views. On the ātman-doctrine he says: "Mainly I worded man negatively. I was wrong. But I wished to avoid, when speaking of 'the man', the implication of anything in him being unchanging, un-'werdend', such as the word *attan* (*ātman*) in my day implied." As for Nirvāṇa, "I had the very horror of this teaching. I had a strong faith in the reality of other worlds." Instead of this final goal, to be "jumped into" at death or before death, "my Way was really and truly *sangsāra*; the way all must go a-wayfaring; *Magga* (or *marga* [*sic*]) is how to walk in *sangsāra*. (As you know, *magga* is 'means', 'method,' as much as 'way', 'road.') Fully worded, *Magga* is 'the way one *ought* to walk in the way one *must* walk'."

The corruption of the teaching, due to the editing monks, began even in Buddha's lifetime. It was at Sāvatthi that the collecting and revising of the many sayings went on. "They well knew I differed from them in this or that. But even when I gave my wording, they displaced it, as I have shown you, by their own." Even his greatest disciples failed him. Kassapa the Great "did much harm with his ascetic values. He was very self-willed—you know that from the books—I had no influence over him." "Upāli respected me, but not as a manager." As for Ānanda, "I, too, liked his worthiness, but not his mind. His will was not very worthy; it ran too much on worldly things," and, worse still, poor Rāhula "was not a truth-speaker, cost truth-speaking what it might . . . He would speak things not true to gain effect. I did not move him much. He left the Order after many years." It now becomes clear why Buddha, settled in his old age at Sāvatthi, should have set off on a tour through some obscure villages at the

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age of eighty. "I had never taken that last tour, had I not been in a fit of despair at the way in which men were wording my teaching not in the way I willed it should be worded." No wonder that on going to another world he found that "to look back on what I had just left caused me more worry than happiness. I was tasting a better world, yet it was as if I had failed on earth."

The chief emphasis of the book appears to lie in the condemnation of the *anatta* theory. This portion is a complete reversal of the interpretation of Buddhism according to the psychology of Spencer, Bain, and Croom Robertson. The view that Nirvāṇa meant, for the monks, extinction seems to be retained, but it is vigorously denied that it was Buddha's teaching. This, however, verges on metaphysics, and we are told that "here is no system of metaphysic or of ethics; here is what we call religion". The last chapter, "Last words to earth," will give the Buddhists much to think about. It is an indictment of the ideals of Buddhism as now understood both in the East and the West. "Men cannot value as I valued in my teaching so as to have values worthy for all time. The values were worthy then. A more-value is needed now. The right values are not the values that were Buddhist." It remains to be seen how the defenders of the faith, the Dharmapālas of London, Ceylon, and Japan, will welcome new light.

This new edition of the *Milindapañha* has been brought out on the initiative of the Pali Text Society, which asked the Forlong Trust for a grant, undertaking to make up any deficit. The study of this work ought to receive a renewed impulse through the care and labour now bestowed on it by Mr. Rylands and Mrs. Rhys Davids, for which all students of this important text will be thankful.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. 9 × 6, pp. xxxvi + 575. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.

The title of this book may suggest the question what relation it has to others with an almost identical title, but quite unnecessarily. Not only are Vedic works, the epics and purāṇas, excluded, but the classical drama as well. The result is that it has been possible to discuss the real literature, the kāvya, the lyric, and the literary prose of fables, tales, and romances with a wealth of detail and illustration that makes the whole a fascinating volume. It also includes chapters on the aims and achievements of Sanskrit poetry, Indian theories of verse and literary criticism, and the relation of the literature to the West on a scale never attempted before. This forms the bulk of the work. A further section deals more concisely with the scientific literature—lexicography, grammar, law, politics, philosophy and religion, medicine, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics. It is treated much more concisely than the rest, but it is evident that to deal with the subject matter would have meant writing a history of science and philosophy. Some of it has a rather truncated appearance, especially Jainism and Buddhism, owing to the fact that only Sanskrit works are included in the plan. Jainism gets a page and a half and Buddhism less than six.

The absence of the earliest stages of the literature is to some extent compensated for by an introductory portion, which deals with the history of the language, the origin of Sanskrit, the extent of its use, its development as literature, and also (we are told) its relations to the literary Prakrits and Pāli and to the vernaculars. Pāli is only twice mentioned in the index, and we find it referred to as an artistic creation by the Buddhists made by recasting their own Prākritic speech with the aid of the Vedic language. Perhaps more discussion and definiteness will be wanted to dislodge the theories that have clustered round this subject for over half a century. In all these questions of linguistics and literary criticism it is

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inevitable that much that is contentious and disputable should be raised, and it is likely that scholars who find their views set aside as implausible, clearly unsuccessful, quite unwarranted, or without probative force will have something to say. But all are not treated so curtly. Mironov's view that the name Avalokiteśvara is from *Avalokita-svara* contaminated with *lokeśvara* is given without comment. Dr. Mironov has not told us what sort of a compound he thinks *Avalokita-svara* is, nor what it could mean to an Indian, and it would have been extremely interesting to know Professor Keith's own view.

Not the least valuable portion is the long preface, which owing to the delay in publication has made it possible to notice the new discoveries and theories of the last two years, such as the date of Kālidāsa, new evidence for the connection of Greek with Indian fables, the plays of Bhāsa, the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra, and the date of the philosophical sūtras. There are two full indexes, but neither *Amarakośa* nor *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is in them. The explanation appears to be that these are merely the usual names of those works, and they must be looked for under their proper names. Nine pages are devoted to Māgha, but throughout the section we are not told that the name of the poem being discussed is *Śiśupālavadha*.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA. Volume IV. Edited by JOHN ALLAN. With 26 collotype plates. 10 × 7. Oxford, 1928. Price £2 net.

This welcome volume deals with the modern series of Indian coins. The War interfered considerably with the original project, but three sections were completed and have been produced under the editorship of Mr. John Allan, Deputy Keeper of the Coins, British Museum.

In the first section Mr. C. J. Brown, who is a master of the subject, writes on the coins of Awadh (Oudh); there are two

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plates. The series of the kings of Oudh are straightforward; those of the Nawab-Wazirs present difficulties. Mr. Brown contends with good reason that the coins struck at Ṣūbah Awadh nominally in 1229 A.H., regnal year 26, were in reality issued by the rebel authorities in Lucknow during the Mutiny; this attribution has been confirmed in a note contributed by Sir Richard Burn to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922. The collection is strong in the more abundant issues, but rarities are lacking.

The second section describes coins of Mysore and miscellaneous coins of South India, with six plates; the author is the late Dr. J. R. Henderson, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of the Madras Museum. The bulk of the Mysore series belong to that capricious genius Tīpū Sultan, who instituted a new era, devised strange and fantastic labels for the years and months, and changed the names of the current money, weights, and measures. The miscellaneous South Indian coins include samples of the issues of the French and British East India Companies.

In the third section it is the formidable task of Mr. W. H. Valentine to deal with the coins of Native States. The confusion and anarchy attending the disruption of the Mughal Empire were reflected in the nature of the money of the succession States. These unattractive pieces are often uncouth and illegible; in many cases local knowledge is indispensable to their correct attribution. Yet their study is important, and the material is quickly disappearing, so it is fortunate that Mr. Valentine had a vocation for this work. He did not live to see his valuable contribution in print, and we lament his loss. The coins are those struck in the States of Bombay Presidency and Western India generally, Rājputāna and Central India; the Native States of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab are absent. The section is complete in itself as regards the States described. In addition to an instructive general introduction, the coin-list of each State is prefaced by an adequate note of a

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historical and numismatic nature. There are eighteen plates. The unelucidated issue illustrated at pl. xxvi, 7, exhibits the couplet of Muḥammad Shah's first year, which was at one time attributed to Nekosiyar; the mint-name begins with Sarkār.

The editor has added useful indexes of rulers, mints, ornaments, types, denominations, and legends, and a full glossary. The work is beautifully produced.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

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INDIA THROUGH THE AGES. A Survey of the Growth of Indian Life and Thought. By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., Hon. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. iii + 140. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1928. 2*s*. 6*d*.

This little book contains the first course of the Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered at the Madras University in 1928, and consequently, in those short limits, as the author states, can only consist of generalizations and give the broad features of the country's development. It practically confines itself to Northern India, and all the illustrations of the British period are taken from Bengal and Bengali literature. The causes which led to the spread of Buddhism, and to the transition from Buddhism back to Hinduism, are clearly and interestingly sketched; so also is the brief review of the growth of English Education in Bengal. Professor Sarkar writes without partiality or bias, and, from the special study that he has made of the Muhammadan period, is peculiarly fitted, for a Hindu writer, to give a just and appreciative view of the influence which Muhammadan administration and institutions have had on the evolution of India. The book gives an interesting and clearly written review of the successive factors which have contributed to the composite development of the India of the present day.

E. H. C. WALSH.

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A BENGALI PHONETIC READER. By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London). $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 134. University of London Press, 1928. 5*s*.

The object of this book is stated to be to assist those who wish to learn the spoken Bengali language, as well as to furnish new material to those who are interested in phonetics in general. It embodies the latest methods of phonetic teaching of a foreign language, and as such forms a fitting continuation to *Bengali Self Taught* by the same author. The extracts given from standard authors are entirely in the colloquial language. "The pronunciation is that of the author. It may be taken as being typical of the educated pronunciation of Calcutta, which is the recognized standard for Bengali."

There is also a vocabulary in which the words are alphabetically arranged according to their phonetic spelling under thirty-five "essential phonemes". The words are also given in Bengali character, which is very necessary where, for example, words so differently spelt as শাস্ত্র, স্বীকার, and সিকি all appear under the same pronunciation *ʃi-*. Assuming the correctness of the phonetic equivalents, the vocabulary would seem to show that a change of pronunciation is taking place in the case of some words. No difference is made in the pronunciation of the long and short vowels *i* and *u*, and, to take a typical example, *gopòn* is given for গোপন and *goti* for গতি. There used to be a distinct difference between the pronunciation of the first syllables of these two words. It is not possible to go into the subject further in the present notice.

The book should be of great assistance to any one learning Bengali, provided that the actual spelling of each word is carefully learnt at the same time as its pronunciation.

E. H. C. W.

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MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS. By SURENDRANATH SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 297. Calcutta : The Book Company, Ltd., 1928.

The well-known author of this little book is to be congratulated on the careful study he has made of all available materials bearing on the history of the Marathas, from which he has produced an interesting study of the Maratha military system with all that it involved. Unlike one or two recent writers on the Maratha confederacy, he has avoided the temptation to twist historical facts into a basis for a political theory; and his criticisms of the weak points of Maratha statecraft and organization are on the whole fairly stated in accordance with the evidence adduced.

Dr. Sen concludes that the decline and fall of the Maratha military power was due firstly, to the revival of feudalism after the death of Sambhaji, which caused disunion and dissension from which Shivaji had tried to save his people; secondly, to the rejection of Shivaji's ideal of racial amity on a religious basis, and thirdly, to the failure of Maratha leaders to keep pace with the scientific progress in other parts of the world. It is perhaps unnecessary, after this summary of Maratha failures, to follow Dr. Sen in his speculation regarding the value of democracy in the West and in the East as a basis of dominion. It is clear that it is open to obvious criticism. We are not given any clear indication of the writer's views on the ethnic basis of the Marathas and their leading elements, the Kunbis and Dhangars of Western India. Dr. Sen's evidence regarding the origin of the levy of *chauth*, which has now been traced to a pre-Maratha origin in Gujarat is interesting and convincing. It is clear that the custom of levying *chauth* is of earlier origin than has hitherto been assumed.

Dr. Sen is also correct in his description of the part played by Berads or Bedars in pillaging in the rear of Mughal armies (p. 88). It will be recollected similarly that the capture of Vizayanagar by the Musalman powers of the Deccan was followed by wholesale depredations at the hands of the

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Berads, who in their more northern settlement were known by the name of Ramosi, whom they resemble in many important particulars.

The reference on p. 95 to the burial of human victims below the walls of the fort of Lohagad in the Poona district (p. 95) might be strengthened by quoting similar traditions prevailing at Satara and Vizyadurg regarding the forts at those places.

Summing up, in his concluding chapter, the defects of the Marathas as a military power, the writer shows how dissensions, incompetence, and lack of military prowess were the causes of their failure. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Fortescue are quoted in support of the evidence of yet another authority, who described the Marathas as "fierce but not brave". The guerilla warfare conducted by hardy hillmen under Shivaji was one thing; the badly organized armies of mixed races, lacking artillery and skilled leadership, and devastating the plains with their camps swollen with women and followers out of all reasonable proportions, could hardly hope to maintain an efficient opposition to the properly led and disciplined troops of their adversaries.

The writer has made this abundantly clear in the conclusion to his excellent work. It may, perhaps, be added that the reason of the failure of the Maratha leaders to commit their theories on strategy and tactics to writing, which the writer deplores, may be similar to the well-known explanation of the omission from a work on Iceland of any description of snakes in that island.

R. E. E.

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INDIAN SERPENT LORE. By J. PH. VOGEL, Ph.D. 10 × 8, pp. xiv, 318. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1926.

All students of Indian folklore will be grateful to Dr. Vogel for this work on the Nāgas as they appear in Indian literature and art. Stimulated by the result of personal observations in Kulu and the Western Himalayas, where remoteness favours the preservation of ancient beliefs and customs, Dr. Vogel

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has aimed at collecting in this volume the legends found in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature relating to the Nāgas. We have in consequence the leading snake stories from the Vedas, the Buddhist birth-tales, and the early Greek travellers.

Dr. Vogel very rightly assumes that "Indian ophiolatry had its first cause in the dread inspired by the poisonous reptiles." This would, no doubt, be more obvious if snake worship were considered with other forms of primitive practices in India instead of being dealt with in his work as a single topic. Crooke and other writers on Indian folklore have shown that such cults as these are based originally on fear. Dr. Vogel, who (p. 7) quotes statistics, presumably from Government sources, in illustration of the high rate of mortality due to snake-bite in India, shares this view. Thus reinforced, Dr. Vogel's theory may readily be accepted. It is, however, questionable whether the statistics should have been advanced in support of the theory without the necessary caution that they cover many deaths that are not even remotely connected with snakes. Dr. Vogel's interesting pages deal with real snakes, snake demons residing in the water and the sky, and snakes in human form known as Nāgas. With the wealth of information now available, it might be less confusing to the student to deal with these three forms of Nāga cults in separate parts. The snake as a reincarnated ancestor guarding treasure or residing in the white ant-hill is a familiar feature of Indian popular belief at the present day. The worship of the Nāga demons and the traditions regarding the semi-human Nāga people seem to form part of a separate culture.

If a few minor criticisms of a most valuable record are permissible, it may be observed that the common name for the jewel in the snake's head (p. 25), i.e. the *mohor* or *mani*, has been omitted. Aivalli and Badāmi, noted as in the Kaladgi district (p. 270), are to be found in Bijapur, by which name this district was reformed many years ago. Belgām is by accepted usage Belgaum, and Kumptā (p. 272) is Kumta.

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We are not told whether the svāstika on the snake is right- or left-handed, surely a point of some importance in view of the difference in significance. The Nāga people suggest the relevance of a study of snake totems as bearing on the plausible theory of their being a primitive tribe worshipping the Nāga as a marriage guardian and ancestral spirit. Here also we should expect a reference to tribes and castes such as the Marāthās, who have as their exogamous divisions the Suryavanshi, Somavanshi, Brahmavanshi, and Shesha- or Nāgavanshi. We should welcome at some future date a fuller treatise from Dr. Vogel of this very important subject.

R. E. E.

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UR EXCAVATIONS. Texts I, Royal Inscriptions, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. By C. J. GADD, LEON LEGRAIN, SIDNEY SMITH, and E. R. BURROWS. 13 × 9, two volumes, plates lix, with photographic plates A–W; transcription, translation, and notes, pp. 1–96, with introduction and table of contents, and index of names.

This book contains 309 Sumerian and Accadian inscriptions from the excavations of Mr. Woolley and his staff at Ur, and range from the monuments of Mesannipadda of the first dynasty of Ur (*circa* 3150 B.C.) to Cyrus the Mede in the sixth century. Down this long corridor of time no new important historical characters appear, but our knowledge of the reigns of certain well-known kings is greatly enlarged, especially those of Narâm-Sin of Agade, Dungi,[1] and Ibi-Sin of Ur, Kurigalzu of the Cassite dynasty, and much is now known of the important work done by Sin-balatsu-ikbi, governor of the province of Ur under Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, who is referred to in the governor's inscriptions as *Ashur-bān-apli*, and not as *Kandalanu*. Particularly valuable

[1] The editors adopt the reading *Shulgi*.

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are the new date lists of Ibi-Sin and portions of the Ellasar corpus of date formulæ, Nos. 292, 265. There is also a large number of year dates taken from business documents of Bur-Sin, Ibi-Sin, and several kings of Isin and Ellasar dynasties. Of the twenty-six years of Ibi-Sin's reign, No. 292, Obv. gives at least 4 + 6 year dates in their historical order; the order of his first two years was already known. Eleven new dates, which mention his name, are published here, and consequently not many remain unknown, but their order remains unknown with the exception of the slight *pied à terre* afforded by No. 292. The most precious new contribution to history are the references to Mesannipadda on the seal of his wife, No. 268, and the monuments (not repeated here) from 'Ubaid, which mention his son A-anni-padda. These had, heretofore, been only names to us, entered in the dynastic list of the first dynasty of Ur, and we now possess four contemporary inscriptions, whose script, although among the earliest found at Ur, proves that this dynasty is not particularly early, and certainly much later than the period of the Shurappak tablets.

This book contains monuments of great literary and religious importance. Sumerian philology, especially, reaps here a rich harvest, and both its grammar and vocabulary are notably enriched, old errors are now corrected, and new aspects of deities are illustrated. The copies are admirable and I have on all these closely copied plates seldom been in doubt about the reading.[1] For example the copies of the excerpts from the inscriptions of Narâm-Sin, Nos. 274–6, show that this class of document can be legibly copied so that a scholar can read the text without referring to the photographs; the corresponding Nippur documents in Philadelphia were published in such illegible script that it is a sore trial on the patience of an assyriologist and wholly inexcusable.

[1] On No. 294, l. 27, *šu-ne-[ib-ur-ra]*; *šu* does not appear in the text.

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The editions reach a high standard in both Sumerian and Accadian, and if the reviewer has a long list of observations, it is largely due to the fact that a good many parallel passages and texts were apparently unknown to the editors. Sumerian is a particularly difficult field, demanding massive collection of references; specialists will be grateful for this valuable material.

No. 1, vi, 7, *gir-e-na-dū* probably = *maḫāṣu* of the Accadian parallel passages; cf. Chiera, *Nuzi*, i, 87, 10, *imḫaṣ*, with Gadd, RA. 23, 109, No. 31, 8, *maḫiṣ*, both in the sense of to survey, delimit; *ina sûḳi maḫiṣ*, it is limited by the street. The translation "portioned to" is reasonably correct. No. 8, Rimush king of Kish, or better *šar kiššati*. No. 50, 11–13, I would render "splendidly he glorified it; with elegance he filled it, and everywhere caused wisdom to prevail." For *nig-ul-lí-a pa-è*, cf. PBS. x, 188, 1, and for reading *ul-lí-a* in sense of *ullu*, *ulṣu*, v. *nig-ul-la*, Langdon, *Paradis*, p. 242, 20; 244, 44. *nig-ul* = *mala ibaššû* "what-so-ever is", perquisites, *Nies*, ii, 75, 9. No. 71, 6, *šukum-ud šub-ba*, probably "whose daily food apportioned unto it was not" (*ni-me-a-na-an-na*). For *na* negative suffixed, see RA. 21, 123, n. 1; *geštug-ga-na* = *la ḫassu*, AJSL. 28, 222, 58; interrogative, *a-ba me-a-nu*, Gudea, Cyl. A 4, 23. *si-mu-un-si-sá-*[*na*] = *ša la uštepellu*, OECT. vi, 28, Obv. 4. So restore, against my *ta*. Line 35, *GIŠ-ŠU-KAR* has the value *šugra* = *naggarum*, craftsman in ZA. 9, 159, 18, but in Strassmaier, *Warka*, 91, 10 + 22 it takes the place of *garza*, benefice of a temple office; line 10, it is glossed *nig-ga* = *bušû*, property. Hence, whatever the phonetic value *šugra* or *nigga*, render "whosoever changes not the fixed income, or temple property, in its place."

102, 9, on *ud-da-gub-*(*ba*), v, PBS. x, 283, n. 1, end.

103, 5, *nam-nin-a túm-ma* "made fit for queenly power".

106, 20, the sign *ḲA* in sense of "prayer", has certainly the value *sìl*. *dúg nam-sìl-zi*(*d*) *DU*. Line 22, *gub* "to stand in prayer", usually refers to a god who is present at (*šú*) a prayer, hence lines 20–22 undoubtedly refer to the deity Nin-eniga,

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as the editors also may wish to imply. See OECT. vi, 2, 37; 24, 15; 13, 23. Hence in line 20 *DU* possibly in same sense as OECT. vi, 2, 37, *laǵ*, *lag*, a Syn. of *gub*. Render "who stands faithfully with words of prayer (on behalf of man in Gaburra)." This is important in fixing the character of *ᵈNin-é-ni-ga*, a deity in the court of Sin, RA. 20, 98, iv, 16; CT. 24, 30, 16. The phrases here harmonize with an interceding goddess. At the end of line 15 the translation omits Ninsunzi.

No. 107, 6, the title *ḲA-AB* has *AB-gunu* here, but No. 240, *ab*, and Clay, *Miscel. ḲA-ab-ba*. Read *sìl-ab-(ba)*?

No. 111, 21–2; *šul ní-tuk ù-ma-ni sá-sá* = *iṭlu nā'idu mušaršid irnitti-šu* "The god-fearing man who establishes his glory". See *Studia Orientalia*, i, 32, 9. Lines 34–5, I would read *é nam-egi-ka-ni á-nad-da*, "house of her ladyship, bridal couch of (Sin)". In line 31, *uku šag-dúg-ga-bi* = *nišê-šu saphati*, "its scattered people". 126, 17, and often, *APIN* = *ušśu*, foundation; read *ùru*. On the deity in line 14, see also *JRAS.*, 1926, 35, 15 and note.

127, 9, *sag-LI-tar*. Read *sag-ên-tar*, with Poebel, ZA. 38, 81. l. 24, *dag* ? *ne-ǵa* = *šubtam neḫtam*, CT. 27, 10, 6–8, *et p.*

128, 4, *dingir-alim šın-šin-na gub*, "powerful god who stands fast in battle".

138, 25, *mê-ba* "in that battle", phonetic var. of Br. 2804. See *East India House Inscr.*, vi, 22; Hammurabi year date 32.

140, 4, *an-ta-gál ša unu-gal e-si-a*. *ša* is here for *šă* = *šag* = *libbu*. Apparently "the lofty who fills with light the interior of the vast sanctuary (= heaven)".

140, 6, *ukkin-ta ǵe-ám-bi*; for *ǵe-ám* = *magāru*, v. JSOR. i, 21, 5. Render *malkatu ša ana puḫri mitgurta-ša kabtat* "queen whose mercy upon the hosts (of mankind) is overfull".

l. 9, probably *èš galga šu-zi-an-na* (= *Gula*) *gar* = *šākinat ṭêmi u parṣi ana Šuzianna*.

l. 10, *na-ri-maǵ* = *āširu ṣîru* "far-famed apparitor". For *na-ri* = *āširu*, v. Weissbach, *Miscel.*, 37, 49; *Epic Creat.*,



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vi, 121; said also of Ninegal, SAK. 218*d*, 4. *Ninsianna* is always Ishtar as Venus. Hence *āširat ṣirtu*.

l. 13, *silim-ma ki-til bar-kug*, probably "giving peace to the living, cleansing the shameful".

141, 4, *muštalpit napḫar mat raggi* "Who casts down all the land of the wicked", Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 9, 22.

l. 28, *BI* is the sign *dug*, *duk*, usually = *karpatu*, used here for *dúg*. *sá-ǵe-ib-dúg* = *lukšud*.

142, 2, *ZUR*, read *en-zur-zur* = *bêl ikribi*; see OECT. vi, 79, 9; BL. 126, 44, 48; CT. 15, 23 Rev. 8.

144, 35–7. Probably "Enlil his lord (omit *ir*) heard his prayer and supplication". For *geš-tuk* construed with *da*, see PBS. v, 73, 5, *ᵈEn-lil-da geš-tuk* obedient unto Enlil, here with personal object; also King, LIH. 61, 9; 62, 7. With direct object, *inim-bi geš-be-in-tu(k)-a*, CT. 16, 45, 116. In line 38 and in 128, 15 occurs the earliest mention of the *šu-il-la* prayer.

145 is valuable for its characterization of Immer, the god of storms. Line 2 is obscure, but *ri-a* either "who dwells in the *X-zi-maǵ*, or "Who is clothed in . . ."; *maǵ* is not a likely adjective with *abubu*. l. 2, *te-eš-dúg-ga-ni-ta imi-dirig šuš* (!) *ka-sir-ri* "at whose roar the overcast clouds gather". *te-eš* = *UR* (*te-eš*) = *ikkilu*, RA. 18, 39, 10. *te-eš-dúg-ga* = *ikkilu*, ibid. 11. Cf. *imi-dirig-*[*meš*] *uktaṣara* "rain clouds will gather", Thompson, *Reports*, 98, 2; *imi-dirig-šù-uš-ru* = *adāru*, Delitzsch, AL³, 84, 24.

l. 5, *ubur ga-dug lam-lá-e* "who fills the udders (god whose rains cause cattle to thrive) with sweet milk". Cf. *mušaznin nuḫši*, RA. 16, 74, No. 13, 2.

146 II 5, *tarram*, I² Inf. *arû*, to guide, conduct. See OECT. vi, 9, 49; CT. 17, 35, 46, *li-ru-šu*, may they conduct him. Br. 4876 is false. See RA. 10, 77, ii, 2. Ibid., iii, 8, *iskim-tuk* = *uddû* (*ḫamṭu*), i.e. to discover, find out (active = *ḫamṭu*); MAG. i, 2, p. 56, 24, *iskim-dúg*; *vadû*, here clearly ודע = ידע to know, learn, as also in *tu-di-i*, Langdon, *Epic. Creat.* 42, 41. This is the original Arabic root, and undoubtedly

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original in Accadian also. There is no need to derive the active adj. *mûdû* "knowing", from a hoph'al, with Ungnad and Jensen. I would render, "The Elamites, Guteans, etc. . . . I learned to know *on the spot* (?); their disorderly schemes I put right."

Col. vi, 6, *sǎg-nu-di-dam* = *u-ul uš-tap-*[*pil*], (word which I speak) changes not. Cf. *sǎg-nu-di* = *la šu-us-su-pi-*[*el*], Meek, BA. x, 76, 37; *ka-ta è-a-zu sǎg-nu-di-dam*, the utterance of thy mouth changes not, CT. 15, 11, 21 = Zimmern, *Kultlieder* 2 Rev. 42, *ka-ba-a-a-zu mùš-nu-di-di*; cf. BE. 29, i, iii, 17; PSBA. 1918, 69, 6; *et. p.*

165, 16 f., *ina išati i-ḳal-lu-ú a-na nâri i-na-as-su-ku* (drop it in a river). l. 22, *na-an-na-ab-*[*šu*], his offspring. l. 24, *ša-ru-ba* [*li-lab-bi-is-su*].

166, 4, read *mussa* = *emu* (*ṣiḫru*), ZA. 25, 302, 12.

169, 9, for *NUN*, value *sir*, *zir*, *ṣir*, see SBH. 27, 21, edin = *NUN-rim*, i.e. *ṣir-rim* = Langdon, BL. 66, 21. Cf. *ṣi-ir-ri*, AJSL. 31, 88, 7. Also *zi-ir-zi-ir* = *iḫḫilṣâ*, CT. 16, 10, v, 1, with NUN-NUN = *ḫilṣu*, CT. 19, 45, K. 2058 Rev. 12. l. 17, *šag-bizem*; for sign, see *JRAS*. 1921, 581; RA. 18, 73, i, 12; OECT. i, 54, n. 4. I would render, "Within the box I laid its foundation inscription." l. 26, *á-suǵ* = *ammatu*, door post, after the Hebrew; better than "door sill" in my *Epic of Creation*, 66, n. 3. Acc. to AJSL. 39, 166, 9, *á-suǵ* is to be read *aštar*; *nu-kuš-ù* in my opinion is the knob at each end of the door post.

210, 3 and 289, 14 is the sign *RA*? Rather *ŠID*. Note *KA* + *ŠID—gí* = *šagāmu*, Br. 817, and *KA*(*dúg*), only adds the idea of activity to a root, whether *dúg* is placed after the root, or the root is placed inside the sign *KA*.

260, *Ramman-šum-naṣir*, year 13th, is written clearly, and proves that I was wrong in reading *Ramman-šum-iddin* for the thirty year reign, in *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, p. 90. The order is Ramman-šum-iddin, Ramman-šum-naṣir.

261 has *Marduk-apal-iddin*, 22nd year. Since the famous Merodachbaladan certainly reigned only twelve years, this

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must be Marduk-apal-iddin I, whose reign is given as thirteen years in King List A, CT. 36, 24, ii, 13. Should List A be read 23 not 13 ?

No. 274, i, 13 has a most valuable gloss, which proves that *ŠAH(ki)* is *Subartu*, universally read erroneously as *Šah(ki)*. Correct accordingly Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 22, vi, 17; 18, vi, 10; 24*d*, ii, 2. This very considerably enlarges our conception of the sphere of influence exercised by the early rulers of Lagash.

274, ii, 18, *a-li-a-tim*, probably "upper (lands)". See Ungnad, MVAG. 1915, 2, p. 32, *ma-tam a-li-tam*. Col. v, 17, read *ši* for *maḫar*, genitive relative pronoun, Poebel, OLZ. 1928, 275. ii, 19, *u-ra-iš*, he smote. See Delitzsch, H.W. 605*b*; SAK. 176, Anu-mutabil, l. 15; CT. 18, 27*c*, 26.

l. 20, $^{giš}$*ILA* is rendered by *mêlû*, MVAG. 1913, 2, p. 30, 73; see also RA. 16, 19, ii, 22; Genouillac, TSA. 26, Obv. I. On *me-li*, v. RA. 18, 162, 9.

289, 26 and 62 has a valuable variant, *muš-tùm*, for *mùš-tum*, and elucidates Gudea, Cyl. B. 10, 6, where render "that oil and milk cease not in the house Eninnû". Also my note PBS. x, 148, on l. 12 and 183, 21 (sign *tum* there) is false. On lines 65–6, see iv, Raw. 12, Rev. 19, *ša a-na i-di li-mut-ti u-ma-'-ar-ru* "Whosoever sends for evil purpose". The phrase also in 100, 19; 294, 24–5.

292, 4, *sa-gar*, probably for *sá-gar*, he ruled, became king, Br. 9568. Cf. PBS. v, No. 1, ii, 12.

293, 4, *gú-lal* = *elû*, rise up. Cf. *me-bi an-ki-da gú-lal-a* "Whose decrees extend to heaven and earth", Gudea, Cyl. A. 17, 19; *é an-ki-da lá-a* = *bîtu ša ana šamê u irṣitim tarzu*, KAR. 119 Rev. 19. *gú-mu-un-lal-éš* = *itteni'lû* "they go up", CT. 16, 44, 104; [*gú-*]*lal-e* = *itteni'lû*, 16, 47, 209. Translate, "whose decrees extend to heaven and earth, who is unceasing (in care) for the desolate city." *săg-nu-di* same sense in 294, 5.

The various texts are uniformly annotated with good and trustworthy notes. It is a publication of great moment in the history of Assyriology and the results of the excavations at Ur are eminently satisfactory.

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REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRILOGIE. Edited by ERICH EBELING and BRUNO MEISSNER, with co-operatiou of many scholars. A-Altkleinasiatische Völker. Large 8vo. Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.

This is the first attempt to publish an encyclopædia of Assyriology, and is planned to include everything mentioned in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian inscriptions, together with those lands and peoples where the cuneiform script was in use, Cappadocia, Hittite lands, Palestine, and Elam. The material, therefore, covers a period of nearly 3,500 years, and concerns the history, religion, geography, archæology, linguistics, law, and sciences of a vast region in which a mighty civilization of antiquity rose and passed away, and influenced profoundly the civilizations of adjacent lands in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The part here issued has 80 pages and 14 plates. The articles are concise and accompanied by all the important literature. There is a tendency to cite works which are not original sources; for example, the Sumerian dynastic list of early kings is cited from a *resumé* in *ZDMG*. lxxviii, and not the *editio princeps*, *OECT*. ii. See now also Langdon-Fotheringham, *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*. The geographical names, at present almost unusable in the scattered brochures on geography, appear here conveniently arranged, an inestimable boon to busy scholars. Among the longer articles, special mention should be made of "Adad" by Ebeling, "Adapa" by Jensen, "Äegypten und Mesopotamien" by Opitz, "Ahhijava = Achaia = Greece" by Forrer, "Akšak = Opis" by Unger (where Lane's book *Babylonian Problems*, entirely devoted to Opis, is not noted), "Altar" by Unger. The work represents the best modern scholarship, and is sure to become a standard reference book.

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STRASSBURGER KEILSCHRIFTEXTE. By CARL FRANK. 8vo, 36 pp. and xx plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1928.

During his residence as professor of Assyriology at Strassburg, Dr. Frank secured a small and heterogeneous collection of cuneiform tablets, mostly in fragmentary condition for the university library. The fifty tablets published here come from Warka, Semkerah, Abu Nachla near Nippur, Tell Ibrahim, Dschocha, Drehem, and Oheimir. The first three tablets are Sumerian hymns. In his edition of No. 1, a hymn to the deified king of Isin, Lipit-Ishtar, an edition of the similar text from Nippur in Poebel, *PBS.* v, No. 67, is given. Zimmern's text in his *Kultlieder*, 199, is also compared, and no mention made of the edition is *PSBA.* 1918, 69 ff. Also *Nies-Keiser*, Nos. 24–5, is compared, but the edition in *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, 174 ff., is unknown to the author. No. 2, a Sumerian hymn to Sin, is arranged in distichs, not observed in the edition. Rev. 5, *dū-ma-gi* = *dumugi* is a title of Sin not *dumu-ma gi* "my son, cane break", etc. No. 3, a hymn to Ningirsu with valuable Sumerian and Accadian glosses. A group of mathematical texts, Nos. 6–11, presents difficult problems in reckoning money payments, land surveys, multiplication and division, taken from school textbooks on mathematics, geometry, and commercial transactions. There are a number of fragmentary Accadian letters and contracts from the first dynasty. Nos. 49–50 are described as "in an unknown script", but Frank believes them to be genuine and not forgeries as they seem to be. The collection possesses also a few inscribed cylinder seals, and a fine alabaster head of a Sumerian woman, period of the last dynasty of Ur, of which three views are given in the frontispiece. Professor Frank's edition of this unpromising material reveals good scholarship, and it would be difficult to do more with it than he has done.

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BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By H. R. HALL, D.Litt., F.B.A. 4to, 55 pp., and lx plates. *Les éditions, G. Van Oest*: Paris and Brussels, 1928.

Dr. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, has published here only a selection of the sculptures in the magnificent collection of our national museum, in order to illustrate chronologically the evolution of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian sculpture. The majority of the objects are old friends of Assyriologists, but produced and described in a manner unequalled in any preceding publication. The only serious criticism one can make about this fine volume is to deplore the cost, three guineas, for few objects which are not to be found elsewhere. But the previous publications of even the comparatively small selection in this book are widely scattered and one must be grateful for this convenient and well-ordered assembling of objects, many of which will be new even to those most well read in Assyriological literature. It is doubtful whether the authors of the standard books on this subject knew some of the objects produced here, for the first time in chronological series. The conical vase with two animal files in deep relief on Pl. II undoubtedly belongs to the same find as the similar one in the Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Baghdad, 1921. Our Oxford vase has only one row, rams in the same style as 116705 in the British Museum. This group of vases and bowls worked in deep relief, and having the animal file *motif* is unique, and not illustrated in any textbook, such as Meissner's *Grundzüge der Babylonischen Plastik*; Contenau, *L'Art de l'Asie Occidentale Ancienne*. Hall claims that they belong to an early Sumerian school of sculpture at Erech. Apparently there is no trustworthy information about their provenance. On No. 118465, pl. ii, there is a bird (raven ?) standing on a bull, and described by Hall as the mythical bird demon Zû, but this is clearly impossible from all that is known of Zû in art and inscriptions. Most desirable would have been

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views of 118361, 118465, showing the interesting portions described on pages 26–7. A number of marble figurines in the style of 114260 (Eridu) was excavated at Kish in 1928, Sargonic period.

On plates lvii–lx there are again some objects which have not been published before, at least not to my knowledge. Of particular power and beauty in 90954, base of a column in shape of a winged human headed cow, wearing the tiara characteristic of divinity. This is undoubtedly the *lamassu*, almost invariably feminine, a protecting genius in animal form, the *Baštu* of Assyrian texts and the *Bōsheth* of the Old Testament. See *AJSL.* 33, 199, 292–3 ; *KAH.* ii, 122, 6 ; King, *Magic*, 22, 64, Ebeling, *KAR.* 196, Rev. ii, 25 = Thompson, *AMT.* 67, iii, 15, speaks of the *lamma* (= *lamassu*) of heaven which descends to earth, hence winged, and compare the winged female (not theriomorphic) which descends from heaven, on the *bas relief* from Ur, *Antiquaries Journal*, v, pl. xlvi, 2. On p. 13, *Nin-urta* is spelled *Enurta*, and again, p. 51. According to Hall, ibid., the statues of Nebo, of which one is given pl. xxiv, are said to have been found in the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud. *KB.* i, 192, n. 2, states that they were found in the temple of Nebo, and King, *Guide*,[2] p. 14, says that came from near the site of the temple of Ninurta (Ninib).

There is only one defect in the printing of this splendid book ; on many plates the objects have no plate sub-numbers, and often no museum number. For example, pl. v, 1–2–3–4–5 should bear these numbers below the objects to which they refer, otherwise in referring to them one must consult the descriptions. The book is ably written, beautifully printed, and every archæologist would like to own it.

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ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS AND FRAGMENTS FROM NIPPUR AND BABYLON. By LEON LEGRAIN, D.D., Sc.D. Publications of the Babylonian Section. The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. XV. Philadelphia, 1926.

Assyriologists are most grateful to Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia, for publishing these valuable miscellaneous texts acquired by excavation at Nippur or by purchase from various sources. It obviously required a deal of patience to assemble the scattered residue of fragments left over by earlier curators and scholars who had worked on the great Nippur collection, and if the philological interpretation is woefully weak it must be remembered that the author has sacrificed several years of his valuable time at the excavations of Ur. Those of experience in that work know that time so spent is a dead loss to pure scholarship and there is consequently trace of it on every page of this book. However this may be, we are grateful for the volumes of texts and archæological material which he publishes. A severe review of this book at the hands of Professor Poebel appeared in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, where there is a heavy list of corrections, mostly correct, some false, and sharp personal remarks which no one of Legrain's great service to Assyriology could possibly deserve.[1] It must be admitted that the philology, both Sumerian and Accadian, as well as the copies admits a terrific list of corrections, but there are few places which cannot be remedied and this does not affect the fact that this book is a very solid contribution to Assyriology.

[1] For example *OLZ*. 1928, 695, Poebel comparing Legrain 49 with the same text by Hilprecht, speaks of the latter's copy as *bei weitem bessern*. Hilprecht's copy contains one mistake ⊢⊢ for *áš-me*, perhaps two, *ga-me-ri* for *ga-aš-ri* (?) Legrain's one, *iš* for *é*. Page 700, on Legrain, p. 37, i, 12, Poebel's *i-tu-di* is due to Legrain's erroneous copy, as he should have seen from Ball's copy, *i-tu-ut*. Page 701, note on *giš ṣi-da-ra-a*, clearly as erroneous as Legrain's rendering.

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No 2, *ga-til-la-šú* "that I may live". See *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 160, n. 3.

No. 41. This valuable fragment is joined to Poebel, *PBS*. v, 34, and most welcome photographs of the whole text are given, Pls. II–VII. Poebel's review corrects many serious errors, and it is a pity that the copy and photo of Col. 7, 19, are so bad that the Accadian reading of 𒌋𒁹𒀀𒀀𒁹 cannot be established. *nâru* and *šâru* have been suggested, but Legrain's *da-wa-ar* (clearly erroneous) does not help at all. *i-ša-ar* or *i-na-ar* seem to be excluded by the photograph. Col. 23, 19, $^{d}$*A-mal*. Legrain accepted *Zamama* from Poebel's edition. For *A-ma(l)* as god of Sargonic period at Agade = *mar biti* (?), v. *PBS*. x, 94; Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 186, n. 10.

No. 46, stamped brick of Ishme Dagan of Isin. L. 2, *ra* is the phonetic complement of the sign for Accad. Read *ur-ra*; cf. *ur-ri*, Hilprecht, *Deluge Fragment*, p. 3, n. 2. *Nin-urta* is still read *Nin-ib* by Legrain. Poebel's correction to the translation of ll. 4–7 is right. L. 8, the Sumerian readings for *GAG* + *giš* have been known for many years; *ši-ta*, *udug*, *rig*. See *RA*. xiii, 3.

No. 58, l. 7, *sag-uš é-*[*Kur*] = *mukîl reš Ekur*. L. 12, copy *lugal*, transcription, *mi-ni*, which is right.

P. 32, n. 1, there is for the first time an attempt to translate *OBI*. 33, dedication of a stone vase to Ninankia by Nadinaḫê for the life of Burnaburiyash. L. 4, PA-GAN (sag)-*di* = *naparkû*, sag-nu-di = *ša la naparkû*, which cease not; v. *PSBA*. 1918, 69, 6, *et p*.

L. 12, *na-di-in-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ*, *Nadin-aḫê*, subject of the verb in line 27. The object is a mortar of white marble, but line 22, *dāg-esi*, commonly rendered "diorite", by Gudea. Also No. 68, slab of alabaster, is described as *dāg-esi*. Perhaps read *dāg-kalla(g)* = *abnu aḳartu*, "precious stone," Gadd, *Studia Orientalia*, i, 33, 1. $^{dāg}$*esi* is certainly diorite.

L. 26, *sikil*, not *el*.

No. 69, brick stamp of an unknown governor of Nippur, Ninurta-šum-iddin. L. 1, dūl-lál = *dullallû* = *bûr mê-šu*

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*ṭâbûti*, *JRAS*. 1919, 190, 13 = *RA*. 19, 69, 7, a sacred fountain; see *JRAS*. 1926, 34, 4. Here it is further described as standing beside Esagrum, the *ziggurat*. But because of sin against Enlil the ziggurat was destroyed and *epra-nu u-gan-ni-šu*, "dust covered it". *epra-nu*, a new word; *nu-ú-gan-nim* [1] is an impossible form and I do not know how the meaning "filled" was obtained.

No. 79, a complete barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, for which the reviewer is particularly grateful. I was mislead by the information at my disposal, when I edited this text in *VAV*. iv, pp. 176–186. A small fragment of a duplicate of this cylinder, which undoubtedly came from Emeteursag, temple of Zamama in western Kish, was found by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition on the surface of the temple ruins of eastern Kish. It carries lines iii, 74–80, with no variants.

There is a very large number of corrections to this edition, where the valuable new cylinders published by Gadd and Sydney Smith in C.T. 36–7 are not utilized at all. Corrections to the copy and translation would involve a new edition, to which I must defer the corrections.

p. 38, 39, *iṣu mes-má-kan-na iṣu ṣi-da-ra-a*, rendered "Magan wood, *ṣidaru* wood". I rendered *iṣ-ṣi da-ra-a-am* "durable wood", *VAB*. iv, 164, 12; 256, 4. That this is the true reading is proved by the ideogram *DA-ERI* in 256, 4. Cf. Hebrew, *mesukkan* "which rots not", Is. xl, 20. *Poebel* also wants to read *ṣidarû* wood, defending the reading by *KAV*. 183, 13 *mat*Má-gan-na(ki) = *mat ṣi-id-di-ri*, certainly a corruption for *mat i-ṣi da-eri*.

pp. 47, 48. For *la naškun* (cf. *VAB*. iv, 106, 20 = *PSBA*. 1888, May, pl. iv, 20), Poebel wishes to read *aš-šu naškun*. Cf. *VAB*. iv, 162, 53 = Weissbach, *Wadi Brisa*, Taf. 31, 52 = ibid., p. 25. Legrain and Weissbach's copies permit both *la* and *aš-šu*, but Ball's copy *la* only. In no case is Poebel's harsh remark justified.

p. 46, 5. If *ilu Za-kar*, god of dreams, is the correct reading

[1] There are several misprints of *r* for *n* in this book.

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(no photograph), then read surely, *ša šu-na-a-ta* "he of dreams", he who sends dreams to all kings. Poebel reads *ilat A-ru* for *Erua*, and probably *ša ba-na-a-ta* as perm. fem. for *banât*.

Ibid. l. 2, *ta-im* for *ṭe-em*. Is the copy right?

Ibid. l. 6, *îtît*, for *itut* $^{d}$*Mūati* (Nabû) *apil Esagila nāš mithurtu*, The chosen of Nebo, son of Esagila, bearer harmony (?).[1]

Ibid., l. 7, *azag* is not the value of 𒀀𒀀𒀀, but *kug*, *ku*, is alone permissible, as Zimmern proved. The reading is *Nin-igi-kug* = *Nin-gi-kug-ga*, *KAR*. 109, 7.

Ibid., l. 8, *ṣaddu* means "light", then "omen". See *VAB*. iv, 130, 61. Cf. *sag-me-gar* = Jupiter = *nāš ṣaddu ana kalamu*, v. Raw. 46 B 39 = *RA*. 8, 45, iii, 4. Cf. *BA*. v, 310, 42; Ebeling, *KAR*. 26, 19.

l. 9, *iš-te-ni-bu-ú*, rendered by "is filled with", from *šebû*, iv[3], "to satiate oneself". Is the text right? For *BU* one expects the similar sign 𒀀𒁍 *iš-te-ni-'-u* "who seeks after" the fear (worship) of the gods.

ll. 14–16, read *šu-tam-ra-ku* "I made fat"; *šākina-at balaṭu*; 𒁹 cannot mean *ḳâšu*. Has the next *NIG-BA* = *ḳâšu*?; *tu-uḫ-ḫu-da-ku*.

l. 19; "Its top trembled"; cf. *rêšâ-ša itrura*, Var. *iḳûpa*, Weissner-Rost, *Senecherib*, p. 50, n. 3.

l. 19, *išû* means "to have", not "to be", and *nimitta*, "support"; also l. 20.

l. 20, *šu-iš-ši-i*; text right? *šu-te-ši-i*? Cf. *uš-te-ši*, *CT*. 20, 34, 23. Read *šu-uš-ši-i*? In any case an intensive of *išû*, to have.

l. 23, *uṣurtim te-na-a-ta*, a plan which is a substitute (for the former plan). On *tênû* "successor", see Landsberger, *ZA*. 37, 81, n. 2. Hence *tênû* also adjective, "replacing, substituting", from *ênû* "to change", غنى be satisfied with a substitute.

[1] Supply this title of Nebo in V Raw. 43, B. 16? $^{d}$Mŭ-a-ti = [*Nābium ša mithurti*?]. Cf. *ur* = *mitharu*, and $^{d}$Ur = $^{ilu}$*Nābium*.

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l. 24, *darâ šundulu* "lasting and enlarged". *šuddulu* > *šundulu* is not a noun.

l. 25, *e-di-rik* "I spread out", is impossible. Is the author thinking of $I^2$ *arāku* "to be long"? In no case can $I^2$ be active. After *VAB.* iv, 214, 14, read *ki-ma dûru dan-nu e-di-il*[1] *pa-ni za-a-bi.* *za-a-bi* cannot mean "enemy"; Legrain has apparently read *a-a-bi.* Is this the text? From *VAB.* ibid. = *CT.* 36, 17, 14, a synonym of *mātu* "land" is expected. *edēlu* means "to bar", "shut in", not "ward off", and *za-a-bu* ought to be some epithet for Babylon. Imgur-Enlil, the inner wall is here described as 20 *uš* long, i.e. 14,400 cubits, 7,128 metres, or 7·128 kilometres, or about 4½ miles.

ll. 22–II 2, "The wall Imgur-Enlil, the mighty wall of Babylon, for 20 *uš*, an everlasting circumference, a plan replacing the old plan, whose boundaries are new, everlasting and enlarged, like a mighty wall shutting in the face of the *zâbu* . . . I strengthened (*udannin*)." As to Rev. 1, there being no other reference to Imgur-Enlil in the Nabunidus inscriptions, it is impossible to suggest a solution without a photograph. *ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-tù é-sag-ila ù ká-dingir-ra-ki* would agree with other passages.

p. 47, ii, 2, *ḳinnû* mountain; see my *Babylonian Wisdom,* p. 58, n. 4; Clay, *Miscel.*, 44, ii, 12; *VAB.*, iv, 256, ii, 7, *nîribi, ḳinnê*; my rendering was false; *napḫar ḳinnê,* Hinke, *Boundary Stone,* 144, 15. At the end some verb is to be read, *ú-pat-ti-in*? Cf. *Babylonian Wisdom,* 58, n. 3; 61, 3. "I fortified it like a rock"?

l 4, *pár-gu-mi-iš* (?) *u-šar-ši-id-ma* (?) *a-na tab-ra*(?)*-a-tu aš-tak-*[*kan*]. Cf. *pár-ga-niš* = *aburriš,* Clay, *Morgan,* iv, 13, 54. Is the text right?

l. 8, *ḳu-*[*ra-du*].

l. 10, *etippušu* (whatsoever) I have made. $I^2$ of *epēšu* is not passive.[2]

l. 12, Translation and syntax is, "Prolong the days of my

[1] For *il,* see Col. ii, 22.
[2] Cf. *RA.* 11, 112, 34, for restoration after *etippušu* [*elliš*].

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life; may I be satisfied with posterity." Cf. *li-ri-ku ûmê balāṭi lušbâ littuti*, *RA*. 11, 113, 36 (Nabunidus).

l. 13, *šu-um-[ḳi-it a-a-bi-i̯a]*, *RA*. 11, 113, 37; or *šu-um-['i-id šanāti-i̯a]*, *RA*. 22, 60, 23.

l. 18, This line is difficult. It corresponds to *ša kib-rat ar-ba'-i*, i Raw. 7, F. 10. Is the text not *ša la ! me-nai- ! -šu-ú mi-e naḳbi* "Who have no number (like) the waters of the deep?"

l. 19, *giš-nig-mudur* = *ḫaṭṭu* sceptre. "May I establish my sceptre over them."

l. 21, *uṣṣap* active, "he shall increase".

p. 48, No. 83, l. 8, *má-gid* is a kind of sailor, literally, "one who draws a boat up-stream", *šādid elippi*, cf. *šādid ašlim*, King, *LIH*. 34, 20; Reisner, *ATU*. 98, viii, 10; 154, iii, 38, etc. Also "ship going up-stream", drawn up-stream, *maḫirtum* with *mâ-dirig-ga* down-stream boat, Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, No. 46; as title also *CT*. 10, 49, 12245, l. 7; *Babyloniaca*, viii, 37, No. 10. As a religious title (in connection with sacred boats), Gudea, *St.*, *D.*, i, 9, as here.

p. 49, No. 85, Col. ii, 1, *me-te nam-en-na*, ornament of lordship.

l. 2, *ana* $^{ilat}$*Ishtar šûluku* "made fit for Ishtar", as often in the construction *túm* with *ra*. Col. i, 5, En-lil-*da gis-tuk*, "obedient to Enlil"; l. 9, *gûr-gú-gà-gà-ri* = *mugarrin karê*, "he who heaps full the granaries," Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 10, 30 = *gûr-gú-gur-gur*, Reisner, *SBH*. 123, Rev. 13.

Photographs of the Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunidus cylinders are indispensable in controlling the copies, but unfortunately they are not given, with the exception of a general view of the large Kish cylinder.

No. 84 is a duplicate of the cone in Manchester, H. W. Hogg, "Inscribed Nail of Enlil-ba-ni," *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 1–26. Legrain and Poebel are not acquainted with this text. See Langdon. *Excavations at Kish*, I, 110, n. 1. Lines 14–6 read *bad-ba* $^{d.}$*En-lil-ba-ni suǵuš* (Br. 4808) *-ki-in*, "Of this wall 'Enlilbani established the foundation, is the name."

S. Langdon.

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BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COLLECTION OF J. B. NIES. Vol. II: Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities. Edited by NIES and KEISER. Vol. IV: Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia. By A. T. CLAY. Yale University Press, 1920 and 1927.

This important series, devoted to the publication of the very valuable collection of Dr. Nies, forms a worthy memorial to two scholars who have done Assyriology great service. The content of the first is very varied, royal inscriptions, amulets, incantations, and business texts of all periods being included. In addition to the texts, there is an interesting collection of antiquities, also of varied dates, including some early amulets, barrel weights, finely carved seals, and a stone vase which is not perhaps beyond all suspicion. The business texts have for the most part been translated by Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz* vi; they contain some incidental information which has yet to be properly appreciated, e.g. the administration of *duplalmah* at Erech, which must have been a counterpart of the court of justice at Ur, by priests (No. 75, l. 34), or the freeing of a slave in return for his performance of *corvée*, military service and business journeys, *ilkam u haranam ilak* (No. 76). Of the religious texts the bilingual No. 22, which belongs to the "Evil Spirits" series, contains some exceptionally difficult passages. The important duplicate of the Entemena text on the "net" cylinder has already been used in Mr. Gadd's reading book.

The second volume contains 233 texts from Kul Tepe, a most important contribution to the study of these documents, which throw such a full light upon the early trade conditions of Western Asia. Some points may be said to be definitely settled by this volume. The noun *tamalakum* (the accusative of which has been tortured in translation as a verbal form) denotes some kind of document, most probably an envelope, since it can be opened; *datum* is most often money paid for the accomplishment of a journey from one place to the other; *bulatum* and *biulatum* are alternative forms of a word which,

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as it interchanges with *igri* (in the phrase *igri zaritim, bulati zaritim*) probably means "hire", so that *lalake bulati* means "let me do hired service"; the verb *bat(d)ū* means "to be distant", *ana ume batiutim* should therefore be translated "for a long period", and the word must be distinguished from *pitū*; *rikzum* Akk. *riksum*, always refers to a special kind of bond often connected with marriage arrangements, and never, so far as I can see, to metal in the form of a chain, as Landsberger believes; *zaritim* is to be derived from Akk. *saradu*, to saddle pack-animals; *gazaru*, connected with Akk. *qaṣaru*, means simply "hireling". The new month-name, *arah zibibi-berim*, and the place name *Tišmurna*, which also occurs in the British Museum texts, though I failed to decipher it, are interesting. It is impossible to give here any account of the contents of these documents, from which it will ultimately be possible to understand the rudimentary credit system which seems to have resembled the Arabic *ḥawālah*, and the complicated officialdom of the bazaars, with the taxes for entry and exit and deposition of goods, and the set tariff of prices, *mahirum*, which was set up on a gate to the bazaar. Of this particular branch of Assyriology at present it may be said *dies diem docet*: ultimately a rich store of knowledge will be available, thanks in no small part to Professor Clay's excellent copies, in which the slips will be easily corrected by the reader.

SIDNEY SMITH.

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THE HOLY CITIES OF ARABIA. By ELDON RUTTER. 2 vols. London and New York: Putnam's Sons, Ltd, 1928.

Since the appearance of Burton's famous *Pilgrimage*, numerous works on the same subject have been produced by adventurous travellers; those who can read Arabic will find Ibrahim Bif'at Pasha's *Mirror of the Two Sanctuaries*, which was the sensation of the Cairene Press in 1925, the most exhaustive and the most richly illustrated treatise on Meccah

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and Medinah. Mr. Rutter's volumes, which are less than half the bulk of the Pasha's, cover some fresh ground. Owing to the state of war which existed in the year 1925 between the Wahhabi and the Hashimite potentates he could not approach Meccah by the ordinary route: he had to get to Massowa and thence cross the Red Sea to a point on the Arabian coast called El-Gahm, and make his way inland. The result is some valuable additions to our geographical knowledge. From Meccah he went to Ta'if, thence back to Meccah, thence to Medinah, and thence to Yabbu', the war having by this time ended with the expulsion of the Hashimite dynasty. He has furnished valuable topographical details of the places visited, with descriptions of manners and customs.

Some of the European pilgrims have been so much afraid of betraying their identity that they scarcely dared make any observations worth recording; and, indeed, if it be true that "the Christian is more hated throughout the Islamic world at the present time than is Iblis himself" (i, 41), they had good reason to be afraid. We should not have gathered that Mr. Rutter had any occasion for alarm on this ground, had he not described his "outward appearance as a lifelong zealous Muslim" as "a mental adaptation", he being in fact "a bigoted believer in the doctrine of the towhid" (ii, 149), which is professed by the adherents of many creeds, as it means the Unity of the Divine Being. His knowledge of the Qur'an is unusually accurate; I have noticed only one misquotation (ii, 125, note, where the Surah *The Cow* is cited for a text which belongs to the Surah *Imran's Family*).

Part of the value of the work lies in what it records about the effect of the Great War and subsequent events on the condition of this portion of the peninsula. The two successive sieges reduced the population of Medinah from some 80,000 to some 6,000 inhabitants. Ta'if, after the Wahhabi massacre, has become "like a city of the dead". The historic graveyard of the former city, Al-Baki' "was like the broken



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remains of a town which had been demolished by an earthquake", nor had the tomb of the Prophet's heroic uncle Ḥamzah, fared any better at the hands of the puritans. The persons employed in the destruction of the cemetery were of the sect called Nakhawilah, about whom Burton has a couple of pages, and Bif'at Pasha a few lines. Since, according to these authorities, they "bedevil" the first two Caliphs, but not the third, they ought not to have been employed to destroy his tomb.

Mr. Rutter's anecdotes are scarcely as thrilling as Burton's and Keane's; on the other hand, no one is likely to question his veracity, though some of the information given him seems questionable.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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ARABIA OF THE WAHHABIS. By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY, C.I.E., etc. London: Constable, 1928.

In this work the author of *The Heart of Arabia* furnishes a narrative of his journeys in Arabia in the summer and autumn of 1918. Starting from Riyadh he travelled in the company of the Wahhabi ruler as far as Buraidah, whence he returned to Anaizah, where he waited while Ibn Sa'ūd was conducting a campaign against Ibn Rashīd. After Ibn Sa'ūd's return in accordance with instructions which he received from the Home Government, he withdrew to Kuwait. In order to utilize his travels for scientific observations he rode during the day, whereas Ibn Sa'ūd preferred the night. The book which has resulted is a combination of an accurate diary with a "Book of Roads and Regions", containing exhaustive information about distances, routes, wells, the size, populations, industries, and characteristics of villages and towns; size, materials, furniture, and decoration of houses; food, clothing, objects and methods of cultivation; careers and characters of prominent personages, etc. As the Qur'an says of itself, Mr. Philby might say

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of his book, "it is a clear account of everything." His accuracy as an observer and recorder is supplemented by his skill as a photographer.

Hence this work is one of the most instructive that have appeared on Arabia, and may be regarded as *abschliessend* for the portion of the peninsula with which it deals.

There are some contributions to the Arabic vocabulary, but none, it would seem, to archæology; the settlements, if not quite modern, are all of recent date. The general standard of living, at times approaching luxury, is higher than we should have surmised from earlier works of travel. It was pointed out to Mr. Philby that he travelled as a *grand seigneur*, whereas Palgrave and Doughty went as poor men; and this may account for the difference in the impression which their works leave. Palgrave, whom Mr. Philby attacked with some vehemence in his earlier work, only receives an occasional slap in this. Doughty is repeatedly mentioned with high honour. The worst knocks are aimed at the British Government, "whose counsels at this stage were directed by ignorance and prejudice," while with respect to another episode "Arabia, seeing and understanding, marvels not at our blushing, but at our blundering".

Occasionally we marvel at Mr. Philby, whose Arabic scholarship is justly admired, perpetrating the latter of these operations, not indeed in the political field, with which we are not concerned. On p. 66 the Qur'an is quoted for the precept, "Ride and shoot, but I prefer that ye shoot." There is no such text in the Qur'an. On p. 286 one of his associates "was still more delighted when I quoted again from the same source (The Tradition).—There is none born but is born within the fold, but their fathers make Christians of them or Jews or Mages". The Tradition (e.g. Bukhari, ed. Krehl, i, 341) has for "within the fold" *in natural religion*, and for "their fathers" *their parents*. On p. 300 we read: "Hail fell in the following August, and within three years Ibn Sa'ūd was practically master of all Arabia." There is

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another power in Arabia, if not more than one, which might traverse this assertion. However, as Mutanabbi says, "Trouble is likely to befall every hero, unless he protects his heroism with some amulets of flaws."

D. S. M.

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THE LIFE OF CHARLES M. DOUGHTY. By D. G. HOGARTH. Oxford University Press. 1928.

The late keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, whose career was so rich in service to his country, his university, and learning in general, did not live to finish his biography of C. M. Doughty. It has been finished by his son, doubtless in the manner which the author would have approved. As a writer on the "Penetration of Arabia", Dr. Hogarth was well qualified to appraise the explorer's contribution to our knowledge of that country, and as he tells us, had practical experience of its value when he was in charge of the Arab Bureau in Cairo. The exploration of the peninsula occupied less than two years of Doughty's life: some forty-five years of it were devoted to the composition of poetry, on which Dr. Hogarth disclaims the right to speak as an expert. The biography, however, contains a sympathetic account of the poems, and a record of their reception: and though the description of the travels is based more on Doughty's original diaries than on the monumental *Arabia Deserta*, it serves as an admirable epitome of and introduction to that work.

*Arabia Deserta* met with a fortune comparable to that of Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* of which two editions were sold for waste paper, whereas with the third it became a classical work. Printed in 500 copies, *Arabia Deserta* was sold out in twenty years, after which an abridged edition appeared. Then came the Great War, and Arabia attracted attention. New editions of the original work were called for, and Doughty became a national hero, and his work a classic. Its value had indeed been recognized from the first

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by experts in Arabic rather than in Arabia: but now the style, to which the author attached perhaps more importance than he did to the matter, won recognition.

The story of the mode whereby Doughty's copies of Nabataean inscriptions, and the two thick volumes of his travels, secured publication, was doubtless worth enucleating and narrating, but few persons connected with either emerge with real credit: among them are William Wright and W. Robertson Smith, who induced the Cambridge University Press to undertake the printing of the latter. Peter Burmann wrote: *viri docti famam sequuntur, non pecuniam.* They ought not, of course, to seek either: the advancement of knowledge should be their sole concern. Doughty made no secret of the fact that he *sequebatur* both, and disappointment made him querulous. We learn that certain societies to which he had looked for financial aid both in travelling and afterwards in publishing, declined to give it. Oxford University, of which he was not an alumnus, was the first public body to give his merits due recognition. Five years later (1912) the Royal Geographical Society awarded him a medal. Towards the end of his life honours were heaped upon him.

His financial fortunes were not dissimilar. Some readers of *Arabia Deserta* supposed him to be a wealthy man, who travelled as a poor one for choice, and to gain a more intimate acquaintance with local conditions than a wealthy traveller could acquire. The biography disproves this. Doughty according to this was financially straitened till near the end of his life, when an unexpected inheritance of a £2,000 annuity enabled him to resign the £150 Civil List Pension which Lord Balfour had obtained for him.

His residence in Arabia lasted in all twenty-one months. He rarely disguised the fact that he was a *Naṣrānī* (Christian), according to Dr. Hogarth more out of patriotism than devoutness, and this, which rendered him an object of hatred and contempt to the fanatical tribesmen, greatly inteferred with his

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opportunities for observation and note-taking. It is extraordinary that he accomplished so much, and became, as a German critic designated him, "the profoundest expert" (*der gründlichste Kenner*) of Bedouin life, and Arabian geography. There is, however, an inference to be drawn. It is said that an American visitor to Angora, who had come there to study New Turkey, told a distinguished official of his purpose; that official said to him, "doubtless you are going to stay with us some seven years". The American replied, "No, perhaps seven days." The latter period was certainly too short for a profound study, whereas the former would scarcely be too long. If *der gründlichste Kenner* of Arabia had to acquire his information in nineteen months, perhaps our knowledge of the Peninsula is not yet as *gründlich* as would be desirable. D. S. M.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF 'ALĪ IBN 'ĪSĀ, "THE GOOD VIZIER." By HAROLD BOWEN. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 25s.

Mr. Bowen has essayed a task which is the first of its kind. Biographies of Caliphs and Muslim princes have been written from time to time, but no political figure of the second rank has hitherto formed the subject of an extended monograph. The reason is only too well known to students of Islamic history—the material at their disposal is both scanty and in many respects unreliable. It is only the fortunate preservation of such nearly contemporary sources as Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's gossipy *Book of Wazīrs* and the histories of Miskawayh and 'Arīb that has made the attempt possible in this instance, and the footnotes sufficiently indicate the debt of this book to them for many of its more intimate narratives. By his masterly use of these and other works, both printed and manuscript, and the further gift of a lucid and attractive style, Mr. Bowen has succeeded in the almost impossible task of giving for the first time a clear and intelligible account

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of a most confusing period. For this service anyone who has had to deal with the intricate history of the decline of the Caliphate may well feel grateful to him.

A biography in the modern sense, however, this book is not. I hasten to add that the fault is in no way to be attributed to Mr. Bowen, but to his sources. He has done his best to give a picture of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā as a man, and has pressed into service probably every item of information that can contribute to it; yet in the end his real personality eludes us. We are told many anecdotes that illustrate his piety and impartiality, but the great bulk of the book is devoted to the never-ending palace revolutions. What would we know of Gladstone and Disraeli (and there are some curious analogies, *mutatis mutandis*, between them and the rivals 'Alī and Ibn al-Furāt) were our knowledge practically confined to their ministerial careers? Without charging the author with undue lenience—though a biographer may be excused some measure of partiality for his hero—one feels that the ineffectiveness of 'Alī's career cannot be explained simply on the grounds of piety and desire for self-effacement.

Mr. Bowen's thoroughness leaves little room for criticism of detail. As he has concentrated on 'Irāq and followed 'Irāqī sources, there are some pardonable slips in dealing with events on the circumference, for example in his accounts of Ibn Ṭūlūn (p. 10) and al-Uṭrūsh (pp. 307–8). Nor was Ibn al-Mu'tazz the author of the *only* attempt at an Arabic "epic" (p. 79). as he had both predecessors and successors in the art of *rajaz* narrative poems.

H. A. R. G.

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DER DIWAN DES ABU DU'AIB. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von JOSEPH HELL. 9¼ × 12, xii + 91 + 47. Hannover, 1926.

When, in 1884, Wellhausen published as one of the sections of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* an essay on the latter portion

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of the *dīwān* of the Hudhailis there was no MS. known of the first portion. This contained, amongst others, the work of Abu Dhu'aib, whom the anthologists and biographers considered the finest poet in the group. Wellhausen conjectured that a MS. of the complete *dīwān* of the Hudhailīs, in the recension of al-Sukkarī, was buried in one of the Cairo libraries. Herr Joseph Hell appears to have taken the hint, and instituted a search which led to the discovery, not only of that MS., but also of the *dīwān* of Abu Dhu'aib, bound up in a composite volume between the *dīwāns* of Ḥasan b. Thābit and Labīd. It is the text of Abu Dhu'aib's *dīwān* that he gives us together with a translation, an introduction and a critical apparatus of citations.

Perhaps of these ancient Arabic verses even more than of others it is true that their interest lies in the sphere of lexicography and grammar rather than in that of poetry, and it is unfortunate therefore that Herr Hell has been unable to publish the commentary which accompanied the text in his MS. For the present we must be content with the few short notes which he supplies for the elucidation of the text. That the Hudhailī goat-herds of the barren hills south of Mecca should have produced any verse at all worthy of preservation is a fact remarkable in itself, and any great beauty of thought ought not perhaps to be expected. Yet it is not entirely lacking, particularly in the first long *marthīya* of Abu Dhu'aib. Herr Hell in his rendering has confined himself to giving a straightforward version, of which the language is more literal than elegant. The translation might perhaps have made better reading if Herr Hell had been less cautious and had committed himself to one particular meaning of a word where the dictionary offered him a choice of several.

R. Levy.

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KHÂBE SHEGEFT. By AKHOND MOLLA FATHALI ISPAHANI. 8vo, pp. 80. Berlin: Iranshahr Press, 1926. Price 32 *shahis* or 8 *pence*.

Here is a graphic indictment of the present condition of affairs in Persia by a native of that country who, for obvious reasons, writes under a pseudonym and even has an obituary notice of himself inserted in the introduction. The author shows himself one of the company of modernists who recently have attempted with varying success to disturb the long indifference of the Moslem East towards the civilization of the West. Mainly his charge is that Persia has taken no notice of the advances which have been made in the scientific thought and material discoveries of the world since the Middle Ages. Economically the Persians are dependent even for necessities on foreign countries; leaving aside the fact that there is no machinery in their country and that not one of them has ever succeeded in building a motor-car which he could use, they have not even a weaving industry to supply them with clothing for their backs, nor any manufacture of modern drugs, let alone a medical school to train doctors.

On the intellectual side the country is equally backward, so that what were until yesterday regarded as the commonplaces of scientific knowledge in the West—e.g. the theory of gravity—have never been heard of in Persia. There are no scientists there, no physicians; but astrologers, fortune-tellers, romancers and charlatans of every description abound. Political offices still remain the storehouses from which their fortunate possessors feather their own nests, while the religious authorities continue to live in the past, indifferent to all modern influence. To speak of freedom of thought in Persia is a mortal offence; yet it is the natural heritage of mankind, and any religion which shuts the door in its face should be avoided like the plague, just as the man who, having the capacity, fails to think and concern himself with the problems of the world is unworthy to be included amongst men.

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The author's thesis is one that merits attention, but recent events in Afghanistan show that reforms must be undertaken with caution. Even Turkey is not yet out of the wood. But it cannot be denied that some reforms in Persia are long overdue. Roads are too few, medical science is still at the stage when Avicenna left it, hospitals exist in only one or two large cities, and opium-taking is still the chief alternative to physical suffering.

And yet there are some features of civilization which Persia need not regret. It can live its life without malodorous, noisy haste, and even its discomfort is at any rate leisurely, though if recent proposals reach fruition, roads and railways will shortly put an end to Persia's leisureliness. One can only hope that the country will take warning by its neighbour and even hasten slowly on its path of reform.

R. Levy.

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Aus Dem Jemen. Hermann Burchardts letzte Reise durch Südarabien. Bearbeitet von Eugen Mittwoch. Leipzig, n.d.

This volume, which is a "Festgabe" to celebrate the fourth German Orientalists' congress at Hamburg, is at the same time a memorial to the German traveller Herman Burchardt, who lost his life in a journey to Arabia in 1909. The fatal journey, begun at Ṣan'ā, went by Ga'taba and Ṭa'izz to the sea at Mocha, whence Burchardt in the company of the local Italian vice-consul retraced his steps to Ṭa'izz, intending from there to return by a different route to Ṣan'ā. They had only gone part of the journey when they were attacked by "brigands" at a spot between Ibb and al-'Udēn and killed. Buchardt's own diaries, if he kept any, appear to have been lost, and the present account of the journey is the work of his Arab teacher and secretary who accompanied him and escaped unharmed. It is this account, with a German translation, that we have before us. The narrative is bare and dry, but the work is redeemed by a number of excellent photo-

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graphs which the volume contains, as well as notes on the geography and dialect of the Yemen, of which latter a number of specimens are given in Buchardt's transliteration.

The geographical notes are the work of Professor Eugen Mittwoch, who is responsible for the editing of the volume.

R. LEVY.

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CHAJIM BLOCH. Lebenserinnerungen des Kabbalisten Vital. Verlag der Asia Major. Sm. 8vo., pp. 179. Leipzig, 1927. 6*s*.

The author of this little book publishes here in German translation a selection from the autobiographical diary of Chayim Vital. It is a fantastic medley of brief memories of ghostly apparitions, of peculiar visions and dreams and other incidents which throw a special light on the character and spiritual disposition of Vital. Their importance lies not so much in these autobiographical notes, as in the fact that they may help us to understand the mentality, disposition, and the mystical tendencies of a man to whom the modern Kabbala owes exclusively all its information about the author of it, the famous Rabbi Isaac Lurya. The latter left no written work behind; and the new system of metaphysical speculation with which his name is connected is found only in the writings of Chayim Vital. It is an unsolved problem how far they truly represent the teachings of the master, and how far they are due to the exuberant fancy of Vital. Be it as it may, they have been accepted as genuine, and these views found in the numerous writings of Vital have exercised a deep influence upon the whole current of mystical speculations from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Mr. Bloch gives also a brief sketch of the Kabbala, and pleads for a better appreciation of this yearning after the union with God, which found expression in it. He also includes in his introduction a short biography of Vital. At the end is appended an interesting bibliography.

M. GASTER.

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ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. With an English translation by the Rev. G. R. WOODWARD, M.A., and H. MATTINGLY, M.A. The Loeb Classical Library. Sm. 8°, pp. xx, 640. London: William Heinemann.

The war has evidently made havoc also with the books which appeared during that period, and therefore I believe that sufficient attention has not yet been paid to a book which, in its various translations and abstracts, has had a great influence upon the literature of the Middle Ages, and which in its essence is of Oriental origin. I am referring to the famous romance, as we may call it, of Barlaam and Ioasaph, which, as Liebrecht—whose name, by the way, is not even mentioned here—has shown for the first time, was a Christianized form of the legend of Buddha. This legend has been made use of for theological purposes, and in order to inculcate the lessons a number of beautiful tales and parables has been introduced. These have made the fortune of the book. It has been ascribed to St. John of Damascus, who lived in the ninth century, and a thousand years had to elapse before Boissonard printed it in 1832. We have now included in the Loeb Classical Library not only a new and revised edition of the Greek text, but also for the first time an English translation, faithfully carried out. It is a boon to the student of that literature, and assists also investigation into the origin and date of the Greek composition. As mentioned before, the book is ascribed to St. John of Damascus, but a number of scholars have disputed this tradition. The authors of the present edition, however, are inclined to accept the traditional authorship. And yet their arguments do not seem quite satisfactory. Dr. Armitage Robinson and Professor Rendel Harris have succeeded in discovering that the author of the Greek text has embodied in his compilation the Apology of Aristides, without even mentioning his name. It is not likely that St. John of Damascus would have been guilty of such an act of plagiarism. It is much more likely that an obscure monk called John, who was a worshipper of the Icons, and therefore denounced vehemently the

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Iconoclasts, should have collected his material from many sources, and, according to the custom of the time, should have compiled the book in the usual manner, not mentioning any of the sources from which he had taken his material. Besides St. John, there was a large number of opponents of the Iconoclastic movement, and this would be no proof of the book being ascribed to St. John of Damascus. It is compiled of both old and new matter. But the authors of this edition have evidently been swayed by a peculiar religious bias in accepting the tradition. But this does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the publication and the excellence of the translation. The book, moreover, is published with the usual care and typographical excellence characteristic of the Loeb Classical Library. One is gratified to find the present book among this set of publications.

M. GASTER.

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PAPYRI GRAECAE MAGICAE DIE GRIECHISCHEN ZAUBERPAPYRI. Herausgegeben und Übersetzt von KARL PREISENDANZ. 8vo, pp. xii + 200. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1928. M. 18.

The dogmatic statement that East is East and West is West, and can never be reconciled, is distinctly contradicted by the literature of magic and superstition. No doubt it is very difficult for two higher civilizations to be blended harmoniously. But the masses of the people who live outside the sphere of that higher civilization recognize no difference of origin, of race or creed. Nowhere does this unconscious syncretism show itself more clearly than in the magical conjurations and charms in all forms of wizardry, old or new. The higher culture drives it underground, but it lives on in spite of all persecution, and the charms and conjurations of to-day in form and substance can be traced back to the ancient Babylonian incantations and to the Jewish-Egyptian

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charms and magical operations. The soil of Egypt has happily furnished a number of papyri which formed the library of old-world magicians and conjurers. Some are as old as the second century C.E., but only as far as the writing is concerned. In all probability they are copies of much older formulae, and carry us back to some earlier century. These magical papyri have been scattered among the great libraries of Europe, notably Paris, London, Leyden, Berlin, and Oslo. They have been deciphered and published also in the same scattered form as they are now found. Many of these publications have become inaccessible, or were too costly for the student to acquire. The works of Kenyon, Wessely, Parthey, Leemans, and last not least Eitrem, appeared in London, Vienna, Leyden, Oslo, etc. Not a few fragments are still awaiting publication. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of these documents for the history of religion and for the deep influence which the Orient has exercised upon the mind and soul of the large masses of the populations of East and West. Dieterich was the first to draw attention to the special character of these papyri, and others, especially Wünsch and Deissmann, have followed in his footsteps. A vast field has been opened to the student of Oriental philology and psychology no less than to the man who is anxious to investigate the history of religion and popular beliefs. At first sight, these magical formulae, bordering on the absurd, frightened away the serious scholar. But much has become clearer, and the absurdity is more on the surface. A great many words occur there, or series of letters and vowels which are unpronounceable. These were declared to be "barbarous" words, and meaningless letters intended, as it is said, to terrify the demon. I believe, however, that I have found the key to these mysterious words and series of letters as well as to the single letters which appear on the tabulae defixionum. On these lead tablets single words occur which in themselves can be translated. But it is useless to attempt to combine them

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in a sentence, for there is no sense in it. In my study of the Samaritan phylacteries, published first in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1915–17, and now reprinted in my forthcoming *Studies and Texts* (pp. 387–482), I believe I have found the solution. Originally these formulae were much more extended. Whole verses and even sections of the Bible were introduced into the formula. Even entire chapters, as I have shown in the *JRAS.*, 1901, and now in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 356–64, were introduced into this magical conjuration. The Logos Ebraicos, a characteristic feature of the Paris papyrus, consists as I have shown, of a complete section of the old Book of Enoch. Chapters and verses from the LXX appeared, e.g. in the papyrus published by Eitrem. This process is repeated in other papyri, and so it is found in the Samaritan extended phylactery. After a time, instead of a whole passage, only the characteristic verse is quoted, presuming that he who uses it would know the whole form. The next step was to reduce the sentence to a keyword, and in the Samaritan phylacteries and other Samaritan writings, the sentence is often referred to by this keyword. But this is not the end of the process of reduction. Instead of a whole word, only the initial letter is used. And thus we find all these stages of reduction in the various Samaritan phylacteries, depending on the size. This evidently has been the process followed also by the writers of the magical papyri. In some of them we find whole passages, in others they are reduced to single verses, again in others and in the lead tablets only the keyword is given, and finally they are reduced to strings of letters, the initials, no doubt, of such keywords and sentences. It must now be left to the ingenuity of scholars to discover the texts from which these sentences, words, letters, etc. have been introduced into these magical papyri. These may be Homer or Virgil, but this question must be left to others to follow up. The difficulty of investigation was the fact mentioned before, that these papyri appeared in many publications not easy to obtain. Thanks now to the

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public spirited action of the firm of B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, Professor Preisendanz has been encouraged to undertake the publication of all the papyri extant in two handy volumes, of which the first has now appeared. Professor Preisendanz is being assisted by a number of well-known scholars in an undertaking for which all concerned have a right to claim full appreciation and thanks. All the old editions have been carefully collated again with the originals. Many wrong readings have now been corrected, and many lacunae filled up. The type was kept standing since 1913, and thus many emendations could be introduced. It is, moreover, a new and very pleasing cut. Above all, these papyri, of which only a few had hitherto been translated, have now been translated into a very lucid German, the translation facing the text. Critical and literary notes are given at the foot of each page. A publication of this kind appeals to a comparatively small circle. It is to be hoped therefore that enough scholars and libraries will be interested to support the publishers in their desire of accelerating the completion of the work. They as well as the scholars engaged in the work are sure to earn the gratitude of all students of magical literature. The book, moreover, is beautifully printed in the usual style of the Teubner firm. There are added also a few plates with illustrations taken from the magical papyri.

M. GASTER.

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CONTES, LÉGENDES ET ÉPOPÉES POPULAIRES D'ARMÉNIE. I Contes traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. 8 × 6, pp. 161. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928.

This book, No. XIII of the series "Les joyaux de l'Orient", is well printed, and is decorated with titles, head and tail pieces and initials by René Riolet after Armenian originals. References to the printed sources are given for each story. Five items are from Zeitun and Cilicia, seven from the Chorokh Valley, and eleven from various districts and dialects.

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The name of the translator is sufficient guarantee for the fidelity of the versions, though it seems a pity ever to "adapt" a folk-tale, and they should be of value to students of the language and to folk-lorists. Those who are acquainted with the popular stories of that part of the world may not find here anything that is strikingly novel, but they will be glad to have variants of themes used in other languages. The second half of the volume is more interesting than the first. Among the more curious may be mentioned the tale of the beardless man (pp. 69–80) including marriages of three sisters to demons disguised as animals, who help their brother-in-law, mounted on a flying horse, to find the palace of the Beardless One and capture and marry a beauty, escaping with the help of a stone, a comb, and a bottle of water. Another story (pp. 110–14), tells of the "luck" (home-spirit or Russian *domovoi*) of a house; this "luck" has a tiny head, gilded hands, and no eyes, it flees when a wicked daughter-in-law steals food and other things for her own folk. There are two stories of giants of the Cyclops type (pp. 58–61 and 115–18), of which the latter, named Ezekel, is used to frighten Nicomedian children. The state of affairs in the ark before it grounded on Ararat, and just afterwards, is described in the story of the Serpent, the Wasp, and the Swallow (pp. 119–24). The terminal formula about three apples that fell from heaven is used on pp. 141 and 158.

O. W.

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KEVORK ASLAN: ETUDES HISTORIQUES SUR LE PEUPLE ARMÉNIEN. Nouvelle édition illustrée par les soins de FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Avec 16 pl. hors texte. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 339. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928.

The preface is dated 1908, and the fact that M. Macler has contributed to this new edition sixteen good full-page plates (chiefly palæographic and architectural) shows its value; it is, however, a pity that the list of illustrations



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(p. 335) is entirely wrong—only one of the sixteen will be found on the page indicated; the original intention may have been to collect all the plates at the end, and this would probably have been handier and cheaper. M. Arslan might verify the spelling of the name of the professor mentioned in the note to p. 212.

The book is written without any of that patriotic flamboyance sometimes seen in histories of all nations, especially those which have suffered much; in fact the author seems to take too modest a view of what his race has been and done. There are six chapters: I, The beginnings of the Armenian people; II, The Armenian Kings to the Accession of the Arsacids (190 B.C. to A.D. 193); III, The Arsacids of Armenia (A.D. 193–297); IV, The Christian Arsacids (A.D. 297–428); V, Armenia under Byzantine, Sassanid and Arab rule; VI, The Bagratids and Arzrounis (A.D. 840–1050), ending with the Dispersal.

Such a compilation would have been the better for an index, a map and some sort of concise bibliography. It is a useful summary of what is known, but the rapid advance of knowledge, due to archæological exploration, will soon render its revision desirable, particularly in the early chapters where the facts are very doubtfully known.

The author insists on the ill-will of Byzantium, due to the unorthodox form of Christianity adopted by the Armenians; their neighbours the Georgians, however, have not in the course of their history gained very much politically by remaining strictly orthodox and fidelity to the Eastern Church facilitated that Russian dominance, beginning with the nineteenth century, which only ended when the Powers recognized the *de facto* and *de jure* independence of Georgia. The "orientation" of Armenia and Georgia through the ages has been westward and research tends to justify this instinctive feeling of a Western origin and sympathy.

O. W.

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PAINTING IN ISLAM: A STUDY OF THE PLACE OF PICTORIAL ART IN MUSLIM CULTURE. By T. W. ARNOLD. 64 plates. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Oxford, 1928.

The study of Muslim painting is still in its infancy, but it is approaching adolescence. Persian, Indian, and Turkish paintings are more valued by European collectors to-day than ever before, to judge by sale-room prices. They are even becoming popular, and the recent publication by the *Studio* of the reproductions from the great sixteenth century Nizami in the British Museum is still selling almost as well as a detective novel. At least two ambitious books on the subject are promised in the fairly near future. A genuine admiration, in short, is felt for this art, or at any rate, for two special forms of it. Enjoyment of the gorgeous decorative splendour of the Persian romantic artists of the Timurid and Safavid periods is not diminished—perhaps rather the contrary—for modern taste, by the fact that they often deliberately avoided naturalism in colouring and expression; while at the same time the delicate portrait and illustrative art, in quite a different manner, of the early Mughal period in India has only to be known to appeal to us to-day as it did to Rembrandt and Reynolds.

For this growing appreciation we are indebted, as far as this country is concerned, to a small and devoted band of interpreters, among whom Sir Thomas Arnold must take a leading place. He is a scholar as well as an enthusiast, and is thus able, in a difficult field of study, to avoid many of the traps which often catch the unlearned. In at least two of the leading works on Muslim painting which have appeared in recent years the authors have made mistakes of attribution from some of which the ability to read Persian would have saved them. Several of these have been pointed out by Sir Thomas Arnold himself—we remember his article in the *Burlington Magazine*, for instance, on Rizā 'Abbasi—though many others await rectification. We can certainly admire these paintings for their universal qualities, but for

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their fuller understanding, fuller knowledge, based on scholarship and research, is necessary. Sir Thomas Arnold is aware of this, and all his writings on the subject bear witness to this consciousness.

*Painting in Islam* is the fruit of many years' research among the public and private collections of Europe, as well as of wide reading in many languages. The result is a tribute to the author's industry and insight alike. The object of the book is "to indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world, and this general subject is attacked in a series of essays, treating, in order, of The Attitude of the Theologians of Islam towards Painting, Difficulties in the way of the Study of Muslim Painting, the Origins of Painting in the Muslim World, the Painters and their manner of working, the Subject-matter of Islamic Painting, Religious Art, Burāq (the Prophet's winged steed), Portraiture, and the Expression of Emotion. There is also a chapter of biography, which shows how lamentably meagre is the surviving material on the painter's lives.

Never before has the general background against which Muslim painting developed been traced in such detail, and the book gives a most vivid impression of the difficulties with which the art had to contend in the Muhammadan world, and of the strength of the artistic impulse which surmounted them. The theological prohibition of painting and sculpture, as a usurpation of the Creator's functions, arose originally from the Semitic aversion to idolatry: it was enforced with growing severity by Shi'ahs and Sunnis alike after the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors, and the result is that Muhammadan painting is really not Muhammadan at all, or hardly at all. That is to say, it was, from the first, almost exclusively secular, and such religious art as there was "came into existence in spite of the condemnation of the teachers of the faith, and represents rather a spirit of artistic self-expression that refused to be repressed than a normal outcome of the religious life of Islam". It is rather

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extraordinary, in the circumstances, that the painters should have dared, as they occasionally did, to depict the holy persons of the faith, and even the Prophet himself, though religious art naturally suffered for its audacity, and it shows no continuity of development. Nevertheless, the chapter which Sir Thomas Arnold gives to religious art is one of his best.

Another extremely interesting chapter is that on the Origins of Painting in the Muslim World. The Arabs, as would have been expected, contributed little to the tradition, which owed its inspiration to artists of subject races, Christian, Sasanian, and Manichean, while, later, Chinese and Mongolian influences impressed themselves strongly and enduringly. There can be no doubt, however, that it was the native artistic genius of Persia, inheriting, with a remarkable continuity in difference, from Sasanian beginnings, that determined the character of the art at its zenith. Limited in scope, just as Persian poetry is limited—though the limits were different, mysticism, for instance, is hardly hinted at in painting—it nevertheless has unique and charming qualities, and it cannot be neglected by any, even if the romantic spirit makes no appeal to them, who would understand the genius of a pre-eminently artistic race. The character of the art underwent a change when it was grafted on to that of India; it lost in colour and composition, but gained in humanity, returning to earth from a world of dreams. The present work is not much concerned, however, with Indian painting.

The book is beautifully produced, paper and type are of the finest, and the sixty-five carefully selected illustrations (eight of them in colour) reflect the highest credit on all concerned. There is not space here to go into much detail, but among the most interesting, if not the most beautiful, may be mentioned the series of examples of similar types in Christian and Muslim MSS. (Plates VIII and IX) and the religious paintings generally. The rare Nativity of Jesus (XXV), illustrating the Kuranic version of the story, provokes

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speculation as to the precise connection (for a connection of some sort there must surely be) between this story, that of the birth of Apollo, as told in the Homeric hymn, and that of the birth of Buddha.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

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THE POEMS OF NIZAMI. Described by LAURENCE BINYON. 15″ × 10″. The Studio, Limited, London. 1928. 30*s*.

It would be difficult to praise this book too highly. The series of sixteen beautiful plates, reproduced in facsimile from a Persian manuscript of the *Khamsa* of the great Niẓāmī, justly described by Dr. F. R. Martin as "the finest sixteenth century Persian manuscript in existence", is a delight to the eye; and Mr. Laurence Binyon's comments on these pictures and on Persian pictorial art in general, are, as might have been expected, an aid to the understanding.

The student of Persian painting is, as Mr. Binyon explains, at a serious disadvantage owing to the inaccessibility of examples of the art, most of which are hidden away in valuable manuscripts, far beyond the resources of the ordinary student, and for the most part to be found only in museums and great libraries, where, for obvious reasons, they cannot be subjected to promiscuous handling. The publication of such works as this will go very far towards removing his disability.

Chinese influence is conspicuous in the best Persian paintings, among which those reproduced here must be numbered. China is regarded, in Persia, as the motherland of the pictorial art, whence Persian painters are proud to draw their inspiration. It would be presumptuous in the present writer to add anything to Mr. Binyon's masterly appreciation of Persian painting, or to his account of the leading masters, but he warmly commends both to all students, who, by studying them in conjunction with the examples selected by Mr. Binyon, will be enabled to acquire a very good grounding in his subject.

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Perhaps the most pleasing of these pictures are those in which landscapes are accessory to the figures. In these the convention of the high horizon will be noticed. Plate VII, illustrating Shirin bathing, surprised by Khusrav, is singularly attractive, owing to its wonderfully delicate representations of foliage. Of the individual figures none can compare with that of the victor in the Physicians' Duel. The fiendish glee apparent in his face is a fine study in expression.

Mr. Binyon describes the preparations of the paper for the brush by polishing it with an egg-shaped crystal, but it was not for the brush alone that this preparation was necessary. The Persian calligrapher requires a smooth and polished surface for the exhibition of his art, and calligraphy, in the estimation of Persians, occupies among the arts a position little, if at all, inferior to that of painting.

It was desirable that the student of art should know something of the literary work on which all this art has been lavished. A pedant might easily have been betrayed into prolixity on the subject of the Five Poems, but Mr. Binyon has avoided this snare. He has given so much of their purport as will enable the reader to understand the artists' themes, and he has said neither too much nor too little. The book is excellent in all respects.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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A HISTORY OF PERSIAN NAVIGATION. By HĀDĪ ḤASAN, B.Sc., B.A. (Cantab.). $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1928.

In this admirably produced and beautifully illustrated book the author seems to have set himself the difficult task of proving that the Persians are a maritime nation. At the end of the book he is constrained to admit that it is only the coastal Persian who takes kindly to the sea, and that the inhabitant of the great inland plateau is a landsman pure and simple. This is, of course, what we should expect, but the

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admission gives the whole case away, for Persia's coastline—the northern shores of the Gulf and part of the Sea of 'Omān, and the southern shores of the Caspian—is so scanty that her coastal inhabitants bear an infinitesimal proportion to the whole population of the country. The book displays great industry and research, which, indeed, are necessary to him who would prove the Persian to be a seaman. It also contains some irrelevant matter. The legendary accounts of naval operations, for instance, are so confused and contradictory that it is only by referring them to a former geological age that it is possible to explain them. The Persian's claim to seamanship must, however, be examined by the light of history, not by that of geology. The author cites the power and influence of the Achaemenians and the explorations of Darius as evidence of Persian seamanship, but the explorations of Darius were carried out by the Greek Seylax, and naval operations in the Mediterranean by non-Persian subjects of the Great King. Among the 1207 triremes in the fleet of Xerxes there was not a single Persian ship. Had Mr. Hādī Ḥasan been better acquainted with naval history he would have found little to support his theory in the fact that the four admirals were Persians, and that foreigners held no post higher than vice-admiral; for in that age, and for many centuries later, admirals and captains were more often soldiers with no knowledge of the sea than sailors. It was their business to direct or lead the fighting men, it was that of the vice-admiral or the master to direct the navigation of the ships. The manning of the ships also indicates the Persian's dislike of the sea. Each had a native crew of 200 men, and carried thirty Persian marines. That is to say, the native crews propelled and steered the ships, the Persians were merely fighting men. The bridge over the Hellespont and the Athos canal were proofs of engineering rather than of naval genius. They were not naval operations, but the devices of landsmen to avoid the perils of the sea.

Coming to the history of navigation in Sasanian times

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Mr. Hādī Ḥasan too readily assumes that the ships in the expedition against the Himyarites were worked by Persian crews. From the allotment of no more than a hundred Persians to each ship it would appear more probable that the vessels were troopships manned by Arab sailors. Again, there is no evidence that the "Shīrāzī" emigrants to the East Coast of Africa were sailors. It is equally likely that they were adventurers or colonists carried in Arab ships. The statement that "the Sasanian navigator was essentially a merchant" begs the question. Persian merchants have not been backward in braving the perils of the sea in pursuit of their calling, but it is not clear that they were in the habit of navigating the ships in which they and their goods were carried. Again, it does not follow that because Bahrain was subject to Persia and 'Omān "was not destitute of a Persian population", "the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea were exclusively Persian." The names of the Sasanian king's *marzubāns* prove that they were not Persian in population, wherever their political allegiance lay.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that the Persians were the pioneers of maritime communication with China. Even if it be granted that Persians appeared in China before the Arabs, we have no proof, as the author is constrained to admit, of the priority of Persian travel *by sea*. There was an overland route to Mongolia and China, as Persians of a later generation were to learn to their cost.

References to river navigation and to expeditions to Hurmuz, only seven miles distant from the mainland, are beside the point, except as an indication that the author is at a loss for evidence to support his theory. It may, however, be remarked that the Safavids were unable to expel the Portuguese from Hurmuz without the help of an English fleet.

The population of the Gulf is, as all who have visited its shores know, mixed. It has probably always been mixed, and the element in it which loves the sea has probably always been as it is now, the non-Persian element.

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It is not clear why the historians mentioned by the author in his preface should have been biassed. It will need much stronger evidence than he has been able to collect to convict them of bias.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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THE MODERN CIVIL LAW OF CHINA. Part I. By V. A. RIASANOVSKY, Professor of the Harbin Faculty of Law. Harbin: Printed by "Zaria". 1 Skvosuaya. 1927.

At the present time law in China, both criminal and civil, is a subject of immediate importance in view of the question of extra-territoriality, on the abolition of which China naturally lays great stress. Any work, therefore, which helps to throw light on the present position of law in China cannot fail to be of great interest to all foreigners who have hitherto enjoyed the privilege of extra-territoriality. With regard to criminal law, as the author points out, the old code of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, which was translated into English by Staunton in 1810 and into French by Father Boulais in 1923–4, was repealed, so far as its provisions dealing with crime are concerned, by the temporary criminal code of 1912. But, as has been laid down by the Supreme Court of China, "though the laws of the Ch'ing dynasty are "called 'The Penal Code', they contain besides properly "criminal provisions, a considerable number of provisions "relating to civil and commercial matters," and those provisions have not been repealed but are still regarded as in existence, and form part of the material which has to be considered in a study of the modern civil law of China. In addition to the provisions of the so-called "Penal Code" dealing with civil matters, the author has availed himself of the following materials, which, he says, "make it possible to give a "systematic outline of the Chinese civil laws at present "in force":—

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(1) Special laws and regulations issued during the last ten years, e.g. "Mining Enterprises Regulations, 1914", "The Law of Copyright, 1915", "The Trade Mark Law and Regulations, 1923".

(2) Draft civil code which has been published, but which still awaits a complete translation.

(3) Summary of the decisions of the Supreme Court, 1912–18: Supplement, 1919–23. The summary has been translated into French by Professor Jean Escarra under the title *Receuil des sommaires de la Jurisprudence de la Cour Suprême de la republique de Chine en matière Civile et Commerciale*, 1912–18. 2 t. 1924–5) and partly into English by Mr. F. T. Cheng, under the title *The Chinese Supreme Court Decisions*, 1923.

The Supplement has been translated into Russian by Messrs. Gomboyeff and Ouspenski, but has not been published.

In addition to the above materials, the author has also studied the works in European languages on Chinese civil law, which he states "are rather few and do not give a proper "notion of the state of that law". He mentions the names of Père Hoang, Franke, Jamieson, Bryan and Mollendorf, but those who, like the writer, have studied the works of those named by him as well as the well-known work of Parker, whom he does not even mention, will certainly not agree with his disparaging criticism of their labours. Notwithstanding his poor opinion of them, he does not hesitate to make use of Jamieson's translations from the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, which appear in his excellent work on Chinese Family and Commercial Law!

Professor Riasanovsky has made good use of the materials he has used, and has produced a work which cannot fail to be of assistance to those who are interested in law in China. The two sections dealing with Family Law and the Law of Succession are especially interesting.

The English text, which is a translation from the Russian edition of 1926, and seems to be a good one, has not a few

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misprints and mis-spellings which should be corrected in a future edition.

It would greatly enhance the value of the work if the Chinese text were given as well as the translation from it into English.

J. H. S. L.

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THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION. Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery, and Miscellaneous Objects. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. I: Bronzes, Ritual and other Vessels, Weapons, etc. Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, London, 1929.

With this volume, under the expert guidance of Mr. Yetts, is presented the first instalment of the treasures of the Eumorfopoulos Collection not included in the Ceramics, Frescoes, and Paintings.

No doubt the æsthetic challenge, the appeal to the eye, of the objects pictured and described in the Plates and Catalogue of Vol. I, will be less to the majority of connoisseurs than was that of the series of Ceramics with their engaging charm of colouring and of form. But to a minority of collectors and students there lies within the sections of this catalogue material splendidly illustrated, and introduced and explained by a cautious but masterly hand, which is bound to prove invaluable to them, and fruitful.

The scheme of the present volume is as follows. After a Foreword by Mr. George Eumorfopoulos describing how, when, and under what circumstances this part of his collection came to be made, and a short Preface by the Editor, we have in succession one page of Chinese dynastic periods; next a long essay of some 32 pages on Inscriptions on Bronzes (but it is really much more than that); then a short study of the technique of bronze casting, 6 pages; this is followed by 12 pages devoted to the Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. After this we have the actual Catalogue itself,

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filling 17 pages. This is succeeded by a peculiarly valuable Bibliography of Works, Chinese, Japanese, and Western, dealing with the subjects discussed. It will prove of the greatest value to the smallest number—if I may put it so—and fills 14 pages. The reader can cast one shuddering glance at a finely printed list in Chinese characters of Chinese and Japanese Works, and then comes an Index to the Text. The rest of the volume is occupied by the 75 superb plates.

The Catalogue is very cautious in attributing dates, and no piece in the collection is assigned to an earlier time than the Chou dynasty.

These plates, many of them rendering in beautiful tints the present aspect of the massive bulk of the originals, suggest something (so it seems to me) that eludes us. Why, for instance, do they from time to time recall or anticipate the strange ideals of Scythian or Siberian culture? Again, the very skilful decorative treatment of bronze surfaces, has it been really understood and explained by the Chinese exponents of the Han and later times, or have they read into it a didactic symbolism of their own, but perhaps alien to the primitive art of which these vessels seem a matured and final expression?

And that leads on to another topic, I mean the nature of the writing that many of them display. This has been most searchingly examined by Mr. Yetts in his introductory essay on Inscriptions on Bronzes, which could quite justly have been headed On Archaic Chinese Writing. The writer seems to have spared no pains in mastering the existing relevant literature, including the most recent Chinese and Japanese. To it he has applied a fresh mind and a sound judgment, and what I would particularly point out, since it will not be so obvious to all, is the rare merit of his numerous illustrations in the text derived from the collection and elsewhere. These illustrative copies of inscriptions are of admirable fidelity, and could only have been executed by one who is both an artist and a specialist in this branch of inquiry.

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Figures 32 and 33—very dissimilar in mannerism—are two I should appeal to to justify what has been said above. These reproductions of an ancient script are not, like the modern Chinese texts at their sides, matters of course as it were, but are truly works of art.

Possibly the author in his enthusiasm for his subject has gone here and there into too great detail. Even a student hardly needs to be dragged into the dusty recesses of the *chuan chu* controversy, to which most of p. 7 is devoted.

Another group of doubts and difficulties is presented by the different terms used in Chinese literature for the various vessels of capacity and otherwise required in the service of ancestral worship. These points are fully gone into in the section on Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. Discussing one of these types, hitherto known as *tui*, or container of cereals, Mr. Yetts puts forward the arguments of a living Chinese author who maintains that this term is a misnomer and that the real name should be *chiu* (or *kiu*), and accepts them.

In terminating this notice on the initial volume of this part of the collection, I cannot refrain from making an earnest appeal, to whatever quarter it should be directed, regarding that part of the Introduction headed Inscription on Bronzes. For students of Chinese Mr. Yetts essay will be not merely valuable, but indispensable. But, as things are now, it will be to all intents and purposes inaccessible. Few scholars and still fewer students can buy books costing £12 12*s*. a volume. And a sepulchre may be beneath a splendid mausoleum, but it remains a tomb notwithstanding.

The only erratum I have noted is that the Bronzes A. 134 to 139 are all on Plate LXVII, not LXVI, as printed in the Catalogue.

L. C. Hopkins.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1929)

## General Meetings of the Society

*15th January*

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Moulvi Farzand Ali.
Mirza Ghulam Jilani Baig.
Mr. Hazari Lall Gupta.
The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.
Mr. Mohammad Ishaque.
Mr. Mohammad Unwar-ul-Hakk.
Mr. Abdul Mahit.
Mr. Seth G. Modi.
Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur.
Mr. M. L. Motial.
The Rev. J. P. Naish.
Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.
Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji, Raja of Kalsia.

Eighteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchen read a paper on " The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan ", of which an abstract is appended.

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## Abstract of Lecture

*The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan*

The Bega races of the Eastern Sudan inhabit an area bounded roughly by the tropic on the north, latitude 15° on the south, the Red Sea in the east, and the Nile and Atbara in the west. Their chief representatives are the Bisharin, Hadendoa, and Beni Amir. They are distinguished by their long hair, bushy above the temples and tied into plaits and ringlets below ; they lead a nomadic life and are very warlike and independent. Anthropological evidence shows fairly clearly that they are aboriginals. During the insurrection of the Sudanese tribes under the Mahdi they came into conflict with Egyptian and British troops on the Red Sea Coast and excited great admiration for their aggressiveness and fearlessness. Kipling has immortalized them as the " Fuzzy-wuzzy ".

The *Bisharin* inhabit the vast desert plain between the

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Nile and the Red Sea ; they are the biggest Bega tribe and are chiefly known for their magnificent camels, which are the best riding-camels in Africa. They trade to a certain extent with Upper Egypt. The *Ababda* live on the Nile itself and are more or less settled. They have always maintained an understanding with the Government and have thus kept a superiority over the more numerous Bisharin. They are good policemen and soldiers, and although they have a dubious reputation keep good faith if duly paid. They were invaluable during the re-conquest. The *Hadendoa* and *Umar-ar* live in the Red Sea Hills and the former come as far south as Kassala. They have the same characteristics as the Bisharin, but are more of mountaineers and stay more in one place. On the East Baraka they have built villages and become cultivators. The *Beni Amir* live mostly in the Italian colony of Eritrea ; about half of them speak Tigre, a dialect akin to Amharic, but are nevertheless of pure Bega stock. Other smaller groups are the *Arteiga*, *Ashraf*, *Samarindoab* and *Bedawib*.

The language, Ti-bḍawyi, bears no perceptible relation to any other tongue spoken in Africa. Its agglutinative syntax makes it difficult to acquire ; relatives, conjunctions, and prepositions are expressed by throwing the subordinate sentence into an adjectival form. The verbs are conjugated in a manner reminiscent of Semitic languages, but there the resemblance stops.

The nomad Bega are likely to retain their manner of life indefinitely, but those who have settled may find themselves pushed aside by more industrious people. It happens that much of their land is capable of growing valuable cotton, and is also on the main route of the Haussa pilgrims from Nigeria to Mecca ; Haussa settle freely in fertile parts of the Sudan and are industrious and expert cotton cultivators. The exception to the general mediocrity of the Bega as settled citizens is provided by the Halenga, who live in the neighbourhood of Kassala and are well reported on by their Governor.

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*12th February*

## Public School Gold Medal Presentation

At a meeting of the Society on 12th February, the President, the Lord Ronaldshay, presented the Public School Gold Medal to Mr. A. J. Hobson, of the Nottingham High School. He said: I am afraid we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the interest which is at present being taken in our Indian Empire amongst our public schools, judging from the amount of competition the Gold Medal attracts. For some years past the number of essays which have been sent in for competition has been unpleasantly small. Last year no essays were received, amd this year only four have been sent in. I sometimes feel inclined to exclaim in the words of the late Lord Curzon: "Oh, how many people in this country know of or care about British dominion in India; and yet it is the miracle of the age!" If we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the amount of interest which is taken in the Indian Empire, we can at least congratulate Nottingham High School upon providing us with a scholar who has written an admirable essay. The period chosen was that of Lord Cornwallis. I think the essayist has been eminently successful in picking out those characteristics of Lord Cornwallis which enabled him to carry through his great and onerous duties with such success. Mr. Hobson has said much upon the internal reforms which were brought about under Lord Cornwallis' administration, and he has very properly laid special stress upon the changes which Lord Cornwallis introduced in the conditions of public service in India; notably upon his arrangements for civil servants receiving adequate remuneration in lieu of their taking part in trade, a practice which had led, as we all know, to great abuses. The essayist has also very naturally made considerable reference to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, which, if it was not Lord Cornwallis' idea, at any rate received his sanction. There are many opinions as to the wisdom of the Permanent Settlement. I notice that the essayist skates



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rather delicately over that particular piece of ice. He leaves it at this: that the Permanent Settlement at any rate maintained Bengal as the wealthiest province of the Indian Empire. I am not sure that I can agree with him altogether in that view. I think the wealth of Bengal, such as it is, has been due very largely to the great investment of British capital and enterprise in that country and in particular in the two great industries of jute and tea. It is a rather interesting fact that it was only one or two years after Lord Cornwallis left India that Dr. Roxburgh first brought to the attention of the authorities at home the possibilities of Indian jute as a commercial product. We all know what an immense industry has grown out of such small beginnings. Before the war the exports of manufactured jute from Bengal were valued at something like £19,000,000, and in one of the years of the war they reached the high figure of £27,000,000. The tea industry is responsible for exports to different parts of the world valued at something like £10,000,000 a year. It is enterprises such as these which are responsible, I think, for the wealth of the Presidency of Bengal. Recently when I was Governor I found the Permanent Settlement a considerable hindrance to urgently needed developments. When the Meston Committee formulated a scheme for the readjustment of financial relations between the provinces and the Central Government, it left the provinces, as their chief source of revenue, the land tax. That may have been a very excellent proposal from the point of view of those provinces which are not burdened with a Permanent Settlement, but in Bengal we were not so fortunate. Land revenue has not been growing as elsewhere from the great successive rises in the value of land under settled government which has been going on for one and a quarter centuries, and consequently the Government are unable to secure any of those increases which are of such service to other provinces.

Sir William Foster, one of the examiners for the Fund, said that he supposed he had been asked to speak rather

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than his colleagues of the judging committee, because he was familiar with the circumstances in which the Gold Medal was founded nearly a quarter of a century ago. The President had voiced their general regret that it had not been a greater success in producing a larger number of competing essays; while one of the chief features of the original scheme had not been carried out at all. The late Sir Arthur Wollaston, to whom the credit of founding the scheme and collecting the money for the establishment of the Fund was due, was anxious to correct the general ignorance of the British schoolboy as regards Indian history and geography by arranging that the chief public schools should provide a course of lectures on those subjects. It was anticipated that the boys would send in essays and that the best of these would be selected for submission to the Medal committee. The head masters, however, while in cordial sympathy with the objects in view, said that time could not possibly be given in the crowded curriculum for the separate and special study of Indian history: they must be content for it to come into general courses, such as modern English history, in which it was impossible to omit outstanding events in connection with the British Empire in the East. They said that all they could do was to introduce Indian subjects into the school debates, place suitable books in their libraries, and encourage the boys to write essays thereon. So the Public School Medal, instead of being the apex of a series of competitions, had to be merely a prize for the best essay sent in from the public schools. While they regretted this, they had to recognize that they had received very much support from the head masters of some of the most important public schools in the country. It was true that no essay was submitted in 1927, but he thought that that was due to an unfortunate choice of subject. Altogether twenty-three competitions had been held, and in these Eton had taken the Medal five times. It was particularly appropriate to recall that fact that afternoon, since Lord Cornwallis himself was a pupil at Eton, and there got a knock on one eye that made him

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squint for the rest of his life. The two Wellesleys were at Eton, and also Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy. Merchant Taylors School had tied with Eton with five successes. Denstone had won the medal three times, and Westminster twice. Harrow was rather behind in the competition, but perhaps, having given Lord Ronaldshay to India, they thought they had done their part. Nottingham High School with this year's success had had the medal twice. Rugby, Dulwich, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and Bishop's Stortford were each represented on the list. This year there were four essays sent in from Eton, Marlborough, Exeter High School, and the winning school. The level of ability was high, and in one of the essays—not the winning one—there were some brilliant passages with which the examiners were duly impressed until they discovered that they had been taken straight from a textbook.

Lord Ronaldshay then presented the medal to Mr. Hobson.

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The General Meeting followed :—

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Sheikh Md. Abdullah.
Khan Sahib C. Nahi Ahmad.
Dr. Purna Gopal Basu.
Pandit R. M. Bhagade.
Mr. Charan Jiva.
Maulvi Feroz-ud-din.
Mr. Radha Krishna Goel.
Mr. Popotlal D. Kora.
Mr. Edward Khin Maung.
Mr. Wali Md. Naiyar.
Miss Lachhi Bai Jagoomal Narsian.
Miss Sita Bai Jagoomal Narsian.
Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
Mr. Jwala Prasad.
Mr. T. S. D. Pillai.
Mr. S. Y. Reza Rizwi.
Mr. Thakur Rudrasimha Tomara.
Professor Hutton Webster.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. Barnett read a paper entitled "The Genius : A study in Indo-European Psychology."

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Dr. Gaster joined in the discussion that ensued. The following is an abstract of the paper :—

The *Genii* of the Romans and the corresponding tutelary spirits worshipped by the Greeks, forming a proletariat of the gods, are survivals from the old IE. conception of the wars of the gods as powers of light against the powers of darkness. The original picture is most fully preserved in the Avesta, where the *Fravašis* appear as tutelary spirits of every being and class of being in the Order of Light, warring in hosts as the rank-and-file of the gods against the forces of darkness and evil, and enabling the creation of Ahura to proceed on its beneficent course. Their activities in bringing fertilizing rain and river-waters, in bestowing offspring, and in healing diseases are especially noteworthy. In all but one of the Fravašis' functions the Maruts of Vedic religion are remarkably similar, indeed to a large extent identical, as is shown by analysis of their cults; but the Maruts do not present a parallel to the *individual* Fravaši. This gap is filled by the *Puruṣas*. In late Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought we find a Puruṣa or spirit dwelling in the universe as a whole, Puruṣas of various departments of nature (also styled *dēvatās*), and the microcosmic Puruṣa residing in the heart of every being, which the Upaniṣads deliberately confused with Ātman and Brahma. Really the individual Puruṣa corresponds to the Avestic Fravaši, and Ātman to Av. urvan. Traces of the connection of Maruts with Puruṣas survive. It may be inferred that the old Guardian Genii of the Indo-Aryans included both Puruṣas and Maruts, together with a large number of miscellaneous tutelary spirits attached to places, trees, etc., which have in the main survived (with a considerable admixture of aboriginal deities) in the modern *dēvatās* of India.

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*20th February*

At a Joint Meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society held at the Royal Society of Arts, Lord Lamington presiding, Professor J. G. Andersson, Keeper of the East

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Asiatic Collection at Stockholm, gave a lecture on "The Highway of Europe and Asia", illustrated by lantern slides, of which the following is an abstract :—

### The Highway of Europe and Asia

Dr. Andersson opened his lecture by saying that he was aware that in certain quarters exception was taken to the use of the word Eurasia as a scientific term, but that he and many scholars felt that the term was a useful one as emphasizing the unity of the two continents and the fact that there had been an interchange of cultural influences between them from the earliest period across the great belt of steppe country, which ran East and West roughly speaking from Manchuria to the Baltic and Hungary, and which he had ventured to call the "Highway of Eurasia". He proposed in his lecture to deal with some classes of archæological evidence for the existence of this highway.

The first class contained those objects which were commonly known to the learned world as "Scythian bronzes". These objects, which first became known in large quantities in South Russia in the areas North of the Black Sea, possessed a very distinctive style. The main features of the designs were animal forms, frequently interlaced and more or less conventionalized. The animals represented were those characteristic of the steppe country, the fox, the deer, the elk, the goat, and so on. Similar bronzes had been known to native Chinese archæologists for some time past, by whom they were regarded as typical specimens of Western barbarian art. Together with the bronzes in animal style were found knives of a peculiar shape, sometimes with a rattle in the pommel, buckles and other small bronze objects.

As long ago as 1885 Reinecke had noticed the resemblance of the bronze knife-hilts found in Hungary to the bronze knife-hilts of approximately the same age found in Honan, but the intermediate steps in the cultural chain had hitherto been lacking. However, archæological material had now

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accumulated, and it was now possible to divide these bronzes geographically into four groups according to their provenance, viz. those coming from (1) the Euxine area, (2) an area near the Urals, (3) an area in Southern Siberia, (4) a large area in North-West China and Inner Mongolia centring round Sui-yuan. All these areas lay on the Highway and, as might have been expected, the objects from the two central districts showed a pure and undiluted style while the objects from the Euxine showed traces of Greek and those from Sui-yuan traces of Chinese influence. The term "Scythian" begged the question of the origin of the style and he therefore proposed that it should be called "the Eurasian animal style".

An interesting question was the reason for the manufacture of these bronzes. Were they made for purely artistic motives or were there some other reason? He was inclined to think that Salamon Reinach's discovery that the palæolithic cave-paintings of Western Europe were primarily magical in nature was applicable to these objects. Some represented mating scenes and one in particular, which in form closely resembled a "*bâton de commandement*", showed an elk hind pursued by three males. He was disposed to think that the reason for their manufacture was at any rate partially magical and that their object was to ensure plentiful supplies of game and success in hunting.

The date of the objects was generally regarded as lying between the 6th and 1st centuries B.C., but there was one exceedingly interesting bronze mirror with a handle in the form of an animal in the Musée Guimet in Paris which bore a Hsi-hsia inscription. If, as was alleged by some authorities, the inscription was cast on the mirror, the style must have survived to the 12th or 13th Century A.D.

Representations of the human figure were exceedingly rare in these bronzes, but one had been discovered which closely resembles those rude stone funerary effigies known as "*babas*". Dr. Andersson showed a map of the sites at which such effigies are found which demonstrated that they too

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are scattered along the Highway from Eastern Mongolia as far west as East Prussia. The *babas* were generally regarded as dating from the Christian era with the maximum period of development in about the seventh century and some survivals as late as the thirteenth.

He now proposed to retire a good deal further into the past and to discuss the question of " painted pottery ". Wares of this kind were commonly regarded as being characteristic principally of the chalcolithic period of civilization, in particular the fifth, fourth and possibly third millennium B.C.

Such pottery was found over a wide area and, though there were marked variations in local characteristics there was sufficient family resemblance between the various fabrics to justify a belief in relationship between, and possibly a common origin of, all the local techniques. Pottery of this kind had been found at Tripolye on the Volga (with linked fabrics extending as far South even as Macedonia), in Mesopotamia at Jemdet Nasr, Kish and Ur, in South-West Persia at Susa, recently in North-West Persia by Dr. Herzfeld, in Seistan by Sir Aurel Stein, at Anau in Russian Turkestan by Pumpelly, and in Kansu and Inner Mongolia by himself.

As regards the Chinese fabrics, there was no stylistic relationship between the painted pottery and that of the Chou Dynasty, the earliest native pottery previously known.

His principal work in connexion with painted pottery in his last expedition had been the excavation of a number of sites in a certain valley in Kansu which had been continuously inhabited since the neolithic age, and was a paradise for archæologists. In this valley he had found a whole series of dwelling and funerary sites and had succeeded in breaking them up into periods and finding a type site for each period.

The dwelling sites were for the most part on isolated hills which had been cut away from the main body of the walls of the valley by river action and had thus been made natural fortresses easily defensible. The burial sites, on the other hand, were generally on ledges or hill tops above the valley, in some

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cases on the highest ground available for some distance round. In some cases it had been possible to link dwelling and burial sites.

The various styles of pottery were of course related but distinct and in many cases very beautiful both in shape and in ornamentation. The funerary pottery was easily distinguishable from that for household use and was marked by the employment of a particular pattern so distinctive that they used to call it the "death pattern" (its principal characteristic being an indented edge) and also of a particular colour, red ochre, which was apparently regarded all over Eurasia in the neolithic period as possessing valuable magical qualities of revivification. The reason for this was no doubt the close resemblance of the liquid pigment to blood.

Another common article of magical significance in the period was the cowrie shell and a number of these was also found in the graves, although they must have been brought all the way from the sea. The supply, however, must have been inadequate as a representation of the shell was another favourite decoration of funerary pottery. There were also certain other designs on this fabric, for instance one which appeared to be a representation of a headless frog.

The designs on domestic pottery were also beautiful but quite distinct.

Very nearly 200 skeletons had been discovered in connection with this pottery and examined by expert anthropologists. The type represented was uniformly Mongoloid.

Before closing his lecture, Dr. Andersson said that he wished to show what appeared to be evidence of the existence of the Highway in about 50,000 B.C., and displayed a map of the sites at which the eggs of a particular species of gigantic extinct ostrich had been discovered. Four such sites were known all lying on the Highway.

Mr. Clauson spoke: I do not think I need waste the time of the Societies by emphasizing the interest of Dr. Andersson's

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discoveries, but I think there are some features of their importance to which we might call attention. To the world at large the most important thing is that Dr. Andersson has broken the spell which hitherto has made it impossible to conduct archæological exploration in China. It is well known that, as the Chinese philosopher Kai Lung once said, the difference between the Middle Kingdom and the outer barbarian countries is that whereas in the outer barbarian countries dragons indubitably do not exist, in China they do; and there is a particular breed of generally friendly but potentially malevolent earth dragons which objects to archæological exploration and prevents the peasants from excavating the earth. But Dr. Andersson has exorcized the earth dragons, and will perhaps pass on the secret of how he has done it to other professors. To us in the Royal Asiatic Society the interest in his work is that he has at last given us some link between archæology and history. There is a very extensive Chinese history of interchanges with these Western countries in the earlier periods, particularly from the Christian era onwards, but we have had nothing to pin it to the ground. We have got, of course, a certain amount of collateral evidence, probably many of us are familiar with the works of de Saussure, who I think has proved conclusively that Chinese astronomy is closely connected with or derived from Iranian or Babylonian astronomy. When we talk of migration I think we have got to remember there are four kinds of migration on these routes. In the first case you may get a material object handed from one hand to another. Then there is the wandering artist who starts from one place and goes elsewhere. Then you get a style migrating, people of various countries getting a style from another area; and finally you get a whole people pulling up their sticks and moving across the country. These four imply different conditions. When an object or an artist moves, that implies roads and a settled country. When a certain style is copied there is probably not a road. The people

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are in contact with their neighbours; but you do not copy something yourself when you can get the object itself in any desired quantity. When a whole people move about it indicates that there is very little population in the area, because if many people lived there they would not be allowed to go through. Dr. Andersson has covered such an enormous area and time that it is very difficult to say much about it. Going backwards I think we should agree that the Hsi-hsia inscription has nothing to do with the animal style. Most people would ask "Why don't you read it and find it out?" It is a sore subject, not very much is known of Hsi-hsia. Then we go back to the Babas. Dr. Andersson said they are almost certainly connected with the Turks and I entirely agree: after all, they followed the route which the Turks followed, and "Baba" is a Turkish word meaning "father". Or it may have been *balbal* "a funerary monument". They no doubt must have moved from east to west. When we come to the Eurasian animal style, of course that presents a rather more difficult problem: it may have moved from east to west, west to east, or started in the middle and gone both ways. I should be very sorry to dogmatize myself—and I think anybody would be. It was not a Chinese style and must have started from somewhere other than the east end. I think it may very well have been connected with the Scythians, because the Iranians are the only people that we know of that ever moved from west to east in early periods: you get the Sogdians who started from Samarkand, and settled on the Chinese wall in the middle of the second century. I think that, perhaps, taking the animals and the astronomy together, there is something to be said for an eastern move. When we get back to the painted pottery I think none of us can say anything at present. It is far too early to dogmatize at all. All we can say is that there is a connexion, but what that connexion is I do not think we can say.

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*12th March*

Professor Langdon, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Paul R. Carr.
Mr. Himanshu Chandra Chaudhury, M.A.
Miss Edith E. Clements, L.R.A.M.
Mr. Chaudhri Abdul Ghani, B.A.
Mr. M. N. Hāshmī.
Mr. H. Khan Mohammad.
Mr. Peter Noble Scott.
Mr. S. S. Ramaswami.
Mr. S. Vadivelu.
Mr. Hari Pal Varshni, M.A., LL.B.
Mr. Ram Rakhle Mal Malhottra, B.A., LL.B.

Six names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson lectured on their excavations on behalf of the British Museum at Nineveh in the winter of 1927–8. These excavations, financed by the British Museum, Merton College, Oxford, the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, and Dr. Thompson, were carried on for four months on the site of the Temple of Nabû, with the result that the clearing of the whole of the Temple on its eighth century platform of unburnt brick was completed. This temple was discovered during the British Museum excavations of 1903–5, conducted by Dr. L. W. King and Mr. Campbell Thompson, and then partly cleared. In Assyrian times it had been restored first in 788 B.C., the name of the original founder being now lost. In the seventh century its area was some 190 × 170 × 190 × 150 feet, and it consisted of a large inner courtyard of earth, doubtless partly used by the priests for their vegetable garden, and an outer rectangular platform of *libn* or unburnt brick, on which had been set the main buildings. These, however, being built also of walls of unburnt brick, had vanished under stress of weather and the destruction of Nineveh in 612, but there were still left (1) the remains of a good limestone pavement of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), almost every slab containing the whole or part of his inscription recording his restoration of the Temple, praying for long life, the welfare of his seed, the destruction of his

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enemies, and the prosperity of the crops; (2) a well ninety feet deep and a latrine in the central court both also containing Sargon's bricks; (3) a magnificent pavement some 200 × 15 feet along the front of the Temple, restored with inscribed slabs of Ashurbanipal, which were so numerous here and elsewhere that they must have originally numbered about 400; (4) the remains of four gateways, that on the north-east having a massive slab as threshold, also inscribed with Sargon's inscription.

Beneath the long pavement was found a new prism of Ashurbanipal in pieces, but nearly complete when put together, the text being an account of his various buildings, some of the matter old, but some new. From here, too, came a large piece of sculpture of Sennacherib's campaign in the marshes. Unfortunately only a limited number of cuneiform tablets was discovered, so that the Library (which is well known to have existed) must have been long ago cleared out from the Temple.

In another part of the site of Nineveh a *sondage* resulted in the discovery of a house built by Sennacherib for his son, and about four score pieces of historical prisms, and above all a magnificent prism of Esarhaddon, perfect except where the pick struck it.

During this last week the excavators had the good fortune to come on the outer chambers of a palace of Ashurnaṣirpal (ninth century B.C.), the oldest known palace-site in Kouyunjik, with bricks of this king and his son Shalmaneser in place. In it was a large slab with an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta, the father of Ashurnaṣirpal, and better still a beautifully written piece of tablet (in minute characters, almost fourteen lines to the inch) giving in semi-poetic style the history of Ashur-uballiṭ and Tukulti-Ninurta I and their troubles with the Kassites.

It is this palace, practically virgin, which Dr. Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson hope to excavate next autumn, but it may take more than one season's work, as it lies twenty-six

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feet below the level. It is hoped, however, that subscriptions may augment the sums in hand sufficiently to allow of adequate exploration of this site which may contain material of great value, either in sculpture or cuneiform tablets. The lecturers have just brought out an illustrated book, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, published by Luzac and Co., 7*s*. 6*d*. n., describing the explorations made there from the time of Rich to the present day. It may be added that half of the edition is on sale at the British Museum, and the whole of the proceeds of all copies retailed actually at the Museum go to swell the funds of the Nineveh excavations.

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# Exportation of Manuscripts from Persia

Libraries and private collectors of Persian and Arabic manuscripts may find this information useful. It is based on personal experience, and is concerned with the procedure of obtaining a licence for the exportation of MSS. from Persia, in accordance with the new rules.

Every MS., rare or common, valued at thousands of pounds, or worthless, is treated officially as an *'atīqa*, i.e. "antiquity" if its age exceeds fifty years.[1] The licence for the exportation of a modern MS. may be obtained without any duties from the local branches of the Educational department (*idāra-i-Ma'ārif*) in every large town.[2]

The licence for the exportation of MSS. which are older than 50 years requires special application to the Central office of the Educational Department, to which the MSS. themselves must be submitted. They may be handed over to the local branch of the *Ma'ārif*, or sent directly to the Central Office, if the purchaser does not want to go personally to Tehran.

A complete list, in quintiplicate, should accompany the MSS., showing the titles, names of the authors, subjects, dates of copies, prices, size, length, width, etc., and all should be sent to Tehran at the expense of the owner.

[1] See the circular letter of the *Wazārat-i-Māliyya*, No. 31057, dated Aban, 1304.

[2] Since the introduction of printing the most valuable MSS. only are copied by hand, and besides these, amongst the MSS. the age of which is less than 50 years, there are chiefly autographs of the modern Persian writers. Both usually command a fairly high price. It is exactly the MSS. of these classes which may be exported with ease. There are, however, a large number of very common school books on grammar, theology, logic, etc., which although being manuscript copies some two or three hundred years old, are valued lower than lithographed copies of the same works, and often are practically worthless. But these MSS. must be treated as *'atīqa*, and their exportation is complicated with the procedure described here.

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In Tehran the procedure is as follows: The Central Office of the *Ma'ārif*, after having received the books, forwards them with a covering letter to the Finance Ministry (*Wazārat-i-Māliyya*) in the department of *Buyūtāt*. The latter submits the books and the list to the *Idāra-i-Khazāna*, which also has the charge of the property of the Shah's court. The books are examined with a view to find out whether or not any of them have been pilfered from the Court library, and, should that be so, they are confiscated.[1] After this the books are returned to the *Idāra-i-Buyūtāt*, where they are stamped, signed, packed, sealed, and, with a covering letter, sent again to the Central Office of the *Ma'ārif*. This office examines the books finally, verifies the prices, fixes a proper value with the help of a special *muqawwim*, or estimator, and receives a payment from the owner constituting 20 per cent of the declared value. After this the books are again sealed, packed, etc., and with another covering letter dispatched to the Central Customs Office. Here, after an extremely lengthy and complex procedure, 10 more per cents on the value is taken, *plus* some obscure "extras" under the names of road-tax, storage, etc., constituting about 2 per cent. After this the parcel is sealed, this time with lead, and is then ready to be carried away by the owner.

Thus it costs 32 per cent on the original outlay of the MSS. The time required to complete the procedure varies very much. If the owner will attend personally, this takes from two to three weeks. If the books are simply sent to the Office, the procedure may take several months.

I may add that it is practically useless to apply to the

[1] As I was assured in different institutions in Tehran, pilfering from all government libraries is going on briskly. Even the most optimistic Persian officials would not assert, indeed, that the frontier of Persia is perfectly proof against smuggling, or that thieves are necessarily fools who will bring their books for getting an exportation licence. Therefore the elaborate procedure of all these precautionary measures affects chiefly that class of MSS. which present little market value, but may be important later if saved from inevitable destruction.

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provincial branches of the *Ma'ārif*. They often are afraid to issue a licence for the "modern" MSS., although officially they can do so. The reason is that the Central Offices in Tehran often forget, or simply do not give themselves the trouble, to keep their provincial branches informed of their continual changes, and officials in remote corners do not know exactly what the present rules are. Another reason why they would always try to put off the responsibility is that they very often are completely helpless with the MSS. The changes in the educational system of Persia render the new generation almost entirely ignorant about Old Persian and especially Arabic literature. Besides, according to the rules, the offices of the *Ma'ārif* must issue licences with the consent of the financial office, which deputes a representative, usually a man who knows little or nothing about books at all, but puts many obstacles in the way of his clients simply to show his energy.[1]

All this shows how difficult it has become to do collecting on a large scale in Persia now, although there are thousands of valuable MSS. rapidly decaying due to neglect, used as waste paper for making cardboard, for bags in druggist shops, or for fixing the windows instead of glass.

W. IVANOW.

CALCUTTA.
*January*, 1929.

[1] In my case (Shiraz, October, 1928) the representative of the Finance office (a man called Khalwati) kept the director of the local *Ma'ārif* and myself busy for more than a week, raising absurd objections, before he got courage to confess that he did not understand Arabic and never had anything to do with manuscripts. But he was not as bad as many others, and was regarded as an educated man.

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320 1893 *Greenup, Rev. Albert W., D.D., *Great Oakley Rectory, Harwich.*
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The Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.
The Burma Research Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.
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The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
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Algiers : Bibliothèque Nationale.
Allahabad : Hindustani Academy (Tara Chand, Gen. Sec.).
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Aschabad-Poltorazk : Ins. of Turkmanian Culture.
Asher & Co.
Australian Book Co.
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Azerbaijan : State University.

Baer & Co.
Baku : Obstschestwo Obsleduwania i Yzutschenio.
Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Library.
Baltimore : Peabody Institute.
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Bankipur : B.N. College.
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Baroda College.
Beirut : American University.
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Bhavnagar : Samaldas College.
Birmingham : Public Library.
Bishop, Dr. C. W., Assoc. Director, Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.
Blackwell & Co., B. H.
Bombay : Elphinstone College.
Bombay : Jamjetsee N. Petit Institute.
Bombay : St. Xavier's College.
Bombay : University Library.
Bonn : University Library.
Bosch, Libreria. Barcelona.
Boston, U.S.A. : Museum of Fine Arts.
Brighton : Public Library.
Bristol University.
British Museum : Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.
Bryn Mawr : College Library, Penn., U.S.A.

Cairo : Institut Français.
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Calcutta : Arch. Survey.
Calcutta : Imperial Library.
Calcutta : Indian Museum, Archæological Section.
Calcutta : Presidency College.
Calcutta : St. Paul's College.

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Calcutta : Scottish Churches' College.
Calcutta : University Library.
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Carpenter, W. B.
Casanova et Cie.
Cawnpore : Gaya Prasad Library.
Ceylon : Arch. Survey.
Chekiang Library.
Chester, U.S.A. : Bucknell Library.
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Chicago : The John Crerar Library.
Chicago : University Library.
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Colombo : Colonial Storekeeper.
Constantinople : Robert College.
Copenhagen : Royal Library.
Copenhagen : University Library.
Cuttack : Ravenshaw College.
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Dacca : The University.
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Dekker & Van de Vegt.
Delachaux & Niestle.
Delhi : Secretariat Library.
Delhi : University Library.
Detroit : Public Library.
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Dhruva, A. B.
Draghi, Angelo.
Duntroon : Royal Military College.
Durham, U.S.A : Duke University.
Eccles : Capt. T. Jenner.
Edinburgh : Public Library.
Edinburgh : Royal Scottish Museum.
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Galloway and Porter.
Gauhati : Cotton College.
Geneva : Bibliothèque Publique.
Gerold & Co.
Glasgow : University of.
Glasgow : Mitchell Library.
Goldston, E.
Göttingen : Universitäts Bibliothek.
Gravelle, Rev. D. E.
Groves, B. M.
Gumperts, N. J.
Gwalior : Superintendent of Archæology.
Harbin : Central Library of Chinese E. Rly.
Harrassowitz, O.
Haverford, U.S.A. : College Library.
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Hong Kong University.
Hyderabad : Nizam's College.
Hyderabad : Nizam's State Library.
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Indianapolis : College of Missions.
Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
Jackson, Wylie & Co.
Jingu Kogakukan, Japan.
Junagadh : Arch. Society, Bahauddin College.
Kaiser, Herr S. J.
Keijo : Imperial University.
Khartoum : Director of Education.
Kirberger & Kesper.
Kotagiri : Arch. Survey Dept.
Krishnagar College.
Kumamoto : Fifth High School.
Kumbakonam : Govt. College.
Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.
Kyoto : Ryukoku University.
Kyoto : Shigaku-Kenkyushitsu (Historical Institute).
Lafaire, Herr Heinz.
Lahore : D. A. V. College.
Lahore : Dyal Singh Library Trust.
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Lechner, Herrn. R.

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London : Athenæum Club.
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H.M. Stationery Office.
London Library.
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Lucknow : Provincial Museum.
Lucknow : University Library.
Lund : Kungl. Universitets Biblioteket.
Luxor: Oriental Institute of University of Chicago.
Lyons : University Library.

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Minneapolis Athenæum.
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Moscow : Istorichesky Museii.
Moscow : Communisticheskaya Akad.
Moscow : Historical State Museum.
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Moscow : Inst. of Knowledge of East.
Moscow : Litisdat.
Moscow : Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga.
Montreal : McGill University.
Multan College.
Muzaffarpur : Greer Bhumihar Brahman College.
Mysore: Government Oriental Library.
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Nagpur University.
Nanking : Central Party Training College of Kuomintang

Naples : International Library.
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New York : Missionary Research Library.
New York : Public Library.
New York : Union Theological Seminary.

Ootacamund : Govt. Epigraphist.
Osaka : Asahi Shimbunsha Library.
Oxford : Bodleian Library.

Paravia Treves.
Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale.
Paris : Inst. Nat. de France.
Paris : University Library.
Parker & Sons, Oxford.
Pavia : Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia.
Peking : Metro. Library.
Peshawar : Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle.
Philadelphia : Free Library.
Philadelphia Library Company.
Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania.
Philadelphia : American Philosophical Society.
Pisa : University Library.
Pittsburg : Carnegie Library.
Pittsburg : Western Theological Seminary.
Prague : Public and University Library.
Prague : Seminaire Semitologique.
Prakke, H.
Princeton : Theological Seminary.
Princeton University Library.
Probsthain, A.

Rajshahi College.
Robbers, J. G.
Rome : Biblioteca del Pont. Ins. Biblico.
Rupp, O. B., Seattle.
Russian Trade Delegation, Teheran.

Seattle : Washington Union Library.
Sendai : Library of Coll. of Law and Literature.
Shanghai : Oriental Library.

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Shanghai : Tung Wen College.
Sotheran, H.
Srinagar : Sri Pratap Singh Public Library.
Stechert, G. E., & Co.
Stockholm : Royal Library.
Stonborough, T. H.
St. Paul : James Jerome Reference Library.
Sydney : Public Library, N.S. Wales.
Sydney : Royal Society of N.S. Wales.
Sylhet : Murarichand College.

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Tashkent : Central Asia State University.
Tashkent : Lib. of Oriental Faculty.
Teheran : Legation de France.
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Thin, Jas.
Tinnevelly : Hindu College.
Tokyo : Foreign Language School, Kanda.
Tokyo : Imperial University, College of Literature.
Tokyo : The Oriental Library.
Tokyo : Indian Philosophy.
Tokyo : Komazawa-Daigaku.
Tokyo : Sodoshu-Daigaku.
Tokyo : Waseda University Library.
Topic, F.
Toronto University Library.
Treves, Fratelli.
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Trivandrum : H.H. Maharajah's College of Arts.
Trivandrum : Public Library.
Twietmeyer, Herr A.

Utrecht : University Library.

Van Stockum and Son.
Vizianagram : Maharajah's Sanskrit College.
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Voss' Sortiment.

Wakayama-ken : Koyasan College.
Westermann and Co.
Wettergren and Kerbers, Gothenburg.
Wien : Natural History Museum.
Winnipeg : University of Manitoba.
Woodward, F. L.

Zürich : Bibliothèque Centrale.

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| | April 15, 1928. | April 15, 192 |
|---|---|---|
| Resident Members (including S.B.A. 10) . | 88 | 100 |
| Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 3) . . | 13 | 15 |
| Non-resident Members (S.B.A. 19) . . | 705 | 733 |
| Non-resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) . | 75 | 79 |
| Library Members . . . . . | 5 | 5 |
| Free Members . . . . . | 2 | 3 |
| Honorary and Extraordinary Members . | 29 | 30 |
| | 917 | 965 |
| Subscribing Libraries, etc. . . . | 242 | 252 |
| Total . . . | 1159 | 1217 |

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